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THE

WORKS

THEOLOGICAL, MEDICAL, POLITICAL,
AND MISCELLANEOUS,

OF

JOHN JEBB, M.D. F.R.S.

WITH

MEMOIRS

OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR;

BY JOHN DISNEY, D.D. F.S.A.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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SERMONS.

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE SPIRIT OF BENEVOLENCE.

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1772.

Χριστιανισμος εστι της Θειας φυσεως μιμησις.

Chriſtianity conſiſts in the imitation of the divine nature.

GREGORY NYSSEN.

FIRST PRINTED AT CAMBRIDGE
MDCCLXXIII.

NOW RE-PRINTED FROM THE THIRD
EDITION, MDCCLXXXII.

TO THE

INGENUOUS YOUTH,

WHO HAVE HONOURED

WITH THEIR ATTENDANCE

THE

THEOLOGICAL LECTURES,

LATELY

INSTITUTED AT CAMBRIDGE.*

GENTLEMEN,

IT is the peculiar glory of the religion we profeſs, that, at the ſame time that it tends to inform our underſtandings, it meliorates our ſocial nature; and, with irreſiſtible energy, inclines us to regard both God and man, with ſentiments of fervent love.

For this reaſon, in the diſcharge of my duty as a lecturer upon the goſpels, I always earneſtly exhorted you to conſider religion as

 a ſcience,

* November 21, 1768.

a ſcience, which has for its proper object the culture of the human heart.

A conſtant attention to the end, evidently propoſed in the goſpel diſpenſation, is one of the moſt likely means to lead us to a juſt conception of each particular doctrine. And, as good will to man was the declared purpoſe of the almighty in revealing it, and was uniformly diſplayed in every action of our redeemer, we have reaſon to conclude, that thoſe doctrines are of prime importance to our ſalvation, which appear to be more immediately productive of a beneficent practice.

Riches, falſe pleaſures, and the luſt of power, are generally eſteemed the grand corrupters of our nature; but the pride of heart, which the reputation of ſuperior knowledge, or abilities, too frequently inſpires, may be equally prejudicial to the intereſts of ſociety, and in no leſs meaſure deſtructive of our virtue, and our inward peace.

Happy indeed would it have been for the chriſtian world, if the profeſſors, of what is termed religious knowledge, had been able to

to plead an exemption from the prevalence of thoſe bad paſſions, which have ſo often reflected diſgrace upon our religion, and diſhonour on our kind.

Our divine inſtructor, as if provident of the evils, in after-time derived from this ſource, dwells with a particular earneſtneſs on the advantages of a meek and lowly ſpirit; and frequently inſinuates to his hearers, that, unleſs every aſpiring ſentiment be ſubdued in their hearts, they would find unſurmountable obſtructions even to the entering upon the profeſſion of a religion, immediately proceeding from that God, who reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble.

But theſe exhortations would have been to little purpoſe, had not the genius of his religion been conformable to the qualifications, which he required in his attentive hearers. A lordly and aſſuming ſpirit would, by an unavoidable neceſſity, have ſooner diſcovered itſelf in the boſom of the church, had the founder of our religion delivered ſuch a form of doctrine, as, in order to its juſt conception, would have neceſſarily re-

quired an extraordinary exertion of our intellectual powers.

Previouſly to all inquiry into the fact, we might reaſonably ſurmiſe, that a religion, intended for univerſal acceptation, at the ſame time that it unfolded truths, of ſufficient importance to engage the attention of the moſt improved underſtandings, would alſo adapt itſelf to the capacities and circumſtances of thoſe, who, with reſpect to numbers, are by far the moſt conſiderable portion of our ſpecies.

This idea, ſurely not diſhonourable to our holy faith, the labours of many years have now confirmed in my mind.

Perſuaded, therefore, of the ſimplicity of the chriſtian religion, as exhibited in the ſcriptures, I have earneſtly contended, and, while the fountain of life and health ſhall continue to me the power, will perſevere in contending, that the grand and fundamental doctrines of the goſpel are few in number, eaſy of comprehenſion, propounded with the utmoſt perſpicuity and plainneſs, and withal of a nature ſo intirely practical, that not a ſingle article of faith, contained

in

in the word of God, is therein propoſed as of neceſſity to ſalvation, which hath not an obvious connection with a juſt and honourable conduct.

The principle of benevolence, the excellency of which is the ſubject of the following diſcourſe, is particularly recommended as the great characteriſtic of the religion of the goſpel*. And we ſhould act wiſely, if we always eſtimated our progreſs in the knowledge of that religion, by our improvement in the practice of this manly virtue. A virtue, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the formation of the real chriſtian, that all other acquirements, of whatever nature they may be, are not of ſterling worth, if the heart is found a ſtranger to its power.

In all your ſtudious reſearches, therefore, into the doctrines of the goſpel, remember to keep this, the moſt important of them, ever preſent to your ſight. And, when your hearts are animated with the proſpect of thoſe future glories, which the almighty, in

* By this ſhall all men know that ye are my diſciples, if ye have love one to another. JESUS.

in his mercy, hath revealed; reflect, that you then will teſtify your gratitude in a manner, the moſt pleaſing to your heavenly father, when your lives are diſtinguiſhed by acts of diſintereſted affection unto thoſe, who are created in your father's likeneſs.

I remain, gentlemen, with great eſteem,

your affectionate and obliged ſervant,

THE PREACHER.

ACTS

I.

ACTS XX. 35.

"REMEMBER THE WORDS OF THE LORD JESUS, HOW HE SAID, IT IS MORE BLESSED TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE."

THE religion of the goſpel, though ſupported by ſuch evidence as might juſtly command obedience to its laws, chiefly aims at our converſion, by the milder powers of perſuaſion, and a generous appeal to the genuine feelings of the uncorrupted heart.

Next to the worſhip of our creator in ſpirit and in truth, it injoins an obedience to the moſt pleaſing affections of our nature, as our moſt eſſential duty: and recommends the principle of unlimited benevolence; that principle, from which true happineſs muſt always flow, as the proper motive and incentive to every action it approves.

In conformity with its general language, it delivers the doctrine of my text; "it is more bleſſed to give, than to receive."

But

But may it not be urged, that the ſentiment, on which this doctrine is eſtabliſhed, is, in fact, at variance with the common practice, as well as the prevailing diſpoſition of mankind?

Self is the idol we adore in every ſtage and period of our exiſtence.

If it be more bleſſed to give, than to receive; whence is it, that in early life the appetite for ſenſual pleaſure reigns in our breaſts without control? Whence is it, that we ſacrifice the eaſe of thoſe around us to every lawleſs paſſion? Our powers of being uſeful in our generation, to the gratification of deſires, which at length render us uſeleſs to ourſelves?

Avarice ſurely diſclaims the doctrine of my text. Nay, even that moderate degree of attention to our welfare, which is dignified with the name of prudence, conſiſts not in providing for the neceſſities of others; its object is, a decent proviſion for the ſupply of thoſe perſonal wants, which the laws of nature and of cuſtom have impoſed upon our race.

Ambition, nay, even emulation, and the deſire

deſire of an honeſt fame, are altogether of a ſelfiſh nature. We envy the pomp, the power, and even the virtue, which we are unable to poſſeſs. Our own ſuperiority depends as much upon the depreſſion of our rival, as on the elevation of ourſelves; the joy of ſucceſs, in this inſtance, is therefore utterly unſocial: it too often is founded on the miſeries of our kind.

Yet the love of pleaſure, the love of power, and the love of praiſe, are in a manner congenial with the human mind: they appear to be neceſſary movements in our frame: they call aloud for conſtant gratification. With reſpect to theſe, therefore, it is ſurely not more bleſſed to give, than to receive.

Religion itſelf ſeems to countenance, and even to applaud, this ardent deſire of happineſs in our ſpecies: ſhe appears to conſpire with this general pulſe of nature, with this univerſal wiſh of all her offspring.

She calls upon us to leave the paths of vice, to purſue the paths of virtue, by the fear of puniſhment,—by the animating proſpect of reward.

Let

Let us, however, attend to what the voice of calm philoſophy, aided by experience, can urge as a ſolution of this difficulty.

And firſt, it muſt be conſidered, that the queſtion is not concerning the inſtinctive deſire of happineſs; but the mode of conducting ourſelves, with reſpect to the ordinary means of its attainment. And it is contended, that a more rational pleaſure, a ſublimer ſatisfaction, will be found in diſpenſing them to others, than in receiving them ourſelves.

The pleaſures of rational creatures are of a twofold kind.

The gratification of every natural appetite is pleaſing: but the pleaſure ceaſes in the inſtant of enjoyment. No power of our will can recall it to our remembrance: it remains ſunk in deep oblivion; until the appetite returns at its appointed period.

Other gratifications there are, delightful in the moment of enjoyment, and which alſo upon reflection pleaſe.

Oppreſſed with hunger and with thirſt, the ſoul of man grows faint; the calls of nature are vehemently loud, they plead with irreſiſtible

irreſiſtible eloquence for the accuſtomed gratification. But, when the ſon of miſery is ſatiated with plenty, the torture of his expectation vaniſhes, the pleaſure of gratification is no more.

But it is not ſo with the perſon who relieves him. He felt a ſupreme ſatisfaction in contributing to his neceſſity; and every recollection enhances the delight.

The ſenſations alſo are widely different in degree.

It is univerſally allowed, that parental fondneſs evidences itſelf much more powerfully than filial love.

Hence we may certainly conclude, that, in this inſtance, the pleaſure of conferring favours is ſuperior to the pleaſure of receiving them.

And, although, in ſtrict propriety, no appeal can be made to an almoſt antiquated paſſion; yet a ſimilar concluſion may poſſibly be collected from the animated language, in which the citizens of Sparta, and of Rome, expreſſed the fervour of their affection, for their country's cauſe.

The happineſs of the almighty is certainly

tainly as much ſuperior to the happineſs of his creatures, as his nature is ſuperior, with reſpect to intrinſic excellence and power. And his happineſs is therefore greater, becauſe they receive from him whatever they enjoy, unable to repay it by a ſimilar return of bounty, while he remains to endleſs ages the inexhauſtible fountain of all good.

The indulgence of the benevolent affections forms our higheſt happineſs alſo; becauſe the heart, which is actuated by them, is a ſtranger to perplexity and care.

Thoſe tumultuous paſſions, in whoſe ſad retinue are found diſorder, confuſion, and deſpair, are unknown where the gentler form of benevolence bears ſway. Pride, avarice, anger, and revenge, bow down before her: they are huſhed in ſoft repoſe; like the beaſts of night, when the ſun ariſeth they gather themſelves together, and lay them down in their dens.

When we conſider the numerous wants and imperfections of our nature, we ſee the wiſdom of providence, in implanting thoſe ſeeds of ſoft compaſſion in our breaſts, which ſoothe our mutual ſorrows, at the ſame time that

that they are the ſources of almoſt every bleſſing we enjoy.

The words of ſcripture, the practice of our heavenly teacher, confirm this voice of nature, and bind us with additional obligations to its obſervance.

The goſpel, in every page, exhorts us, to ſuppreſs each riſing paſſion, which oppoſes itſelf to our neighbour's happineſs, to ſacrifice our own emolument to his advantage, and to ſubdue the hoſtile ſpirit of the injurious perſon, by accumulated acts of undeſerved kindneſs.

The great founder of our religion came not to be miniſtered unto, but to miniſter, and to give his life a ranſom for mankind.

His diſciples imitated this great example. And, when we reflect upon the conſtant tenor of their conduct; when we behold them calm and compoſed in the time of danger, unterrified by every form of perſecution and diſtreſs, rejoicing themſelves in tribulation, exhorting others to rejoice; we muſt certainly conclude, that they felt a ſincerer pleaſure, a more warm and impaſſioned ſatisfaction, in their works of bene-

volence, in their labours of love, than if they had been gratified with the actual enjoyment of whatever wealth, and honour, and dominion could beſtow.

It cannot be urged in oppoſition to the doctrine we would eſtabliſh, that every human action may be traced, until it be found connected with the love of pleaſure, the love of power, or the love of praiſe.

The love of pleaſure animates to action; and experience proves, that the higheſt pleaſure is found in the performance of thoſe actions which are uſeful to our ſpecies.

The love of power is virtuous, when we attempt its acquiſition, with a view of increaſing our capacities of doing good.

Approbation and applauſe are the grateful tribute of mankind, in return for juſt and generous conduct. It is, therefore, a characteriſtic mark of a benevolent heart to be influenced by the love of honeſt praiſe. And the delight, ariſing from the indulgence of this paſſion, is itſelf a demonſtration, that it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.

Every

Every paſſion, therefore, in our conſtitution points out, that true enjoyment is only to be found in acts of ſocial love.

And on this idea, happineſs is ſurely in our power. We cannot indeed command the exerciſe of our neighbours kind affections in our favour, but we poſſeſs an unlimited power over our own.

Nor can it be urged as an objection to this theory, that religion frequently appeals to the ſelfiſh paſſions of our nature; or with reaſon be aſſerted, that revelation, holding forth the gift of immortality, as the deſtined reward of our obedience, in fact annihilates the intrinſic excellence, and native dignity of every generous virtue, in the breaſt of each believer of the goſpel.

It is readily allowed, that reward is only due to diſintereſted acts of virtue.

But the principle of every ſocial, and diſintereſted affection is gradually formed in the heart, by a kind of mechanical proceſs, and by the aid of motives, which differ widely from their generated effect.

The hopes and fears, which a belief in the religion of the goſpel naturally raiſes in the heart of man, although, conſidered in themſelves and their immediate conſequences, they have no claim to the character of meritorious; yet directly lead to the production of affections, diſintereſted in their immediate motive, and, therefore, ſtrictly deſerving of reward.

Under the conduct of right reaſon, they rouſe us from the fatal lethargy of vice, they urge us to the practice of every uſeful virtue; until at length the heart, led captive by the charms of truth, forgets the motive, which firſt engaged it in her ſervice; and expanding itſelf wide as the creation of the almighty, and emulative of the joy of God, conſiders every increaſe of the happineſs of others, as an addition of happineſs to itſelf.

Hath heaven, therefore, bleſſed thee with riches? conſider thyſelf as the appointed diſpenſer of them to thy brethren: and know, that thy happineſs does not conſiſt in the envied poſſeſſion, but in the liberal communication, of thy ſubſtance.

Thou

Thou ſtill wilt be happier than thy poorer neighbour: he receives thy favours, thou conferreſt them: "it is more bleſſed to give, than to receive."

Beat down the ſpirit of pride, which cauſes thee to inſult the lowly fortune of thy leſs happy brother. The ſenſe of pain, ariſing from a compariſon of his ſtate with thine, ſhall be diminiſhed in his breaſt; and thou ſhalt find thy reward, in that inward tranquillity, which meekneſs ſhall inſpire.

The gift of ſuperior wiſdom, and abilities, the advantages of learning, are valuable only in the uſe. He that increaſeth knowledge, increaſeth ſorrow, if he toileth only for himſelf. If he hath no other end in view, than the gratification of a vain aſpiring ſpirit, the humble diffidence of the unlettered peaſant is more deſerving of our praiſe.

Let not then the light of ſcience ſhine inward only on thyſelf. Let it irradiate thy neighbour's footſteps with its friendly beam: let it light him on his dark and dangerous

way through the wilderneſs of human life. The ray of knowledge, which thus informs his mind, ſhall by ſtrong reflection more powerfully illuminate thine own.

Repine not, though thy humbler ſtation circumſcribe thy powers of being uſeful, within a narrower ſphere. No man liveth to himſelf; the labours of the lowlieſt of the ſons of men are neceſſary to the well being of the whole. Conſecrate them, by an upright intention, to the general good; they ſhall be remembered to thy praiſe. True merit ſhall not hereafter be diſregarded, though now it may lie concealed in the obſcurer walks of private life. The impartial hour of future retribution ſhall call forth the friend of man, whatever may have been his ſtation here below, to ſubſtantial happineſs; and place an unfading crown of glory on his brow.

Nor will that ſacred ardor, which glows within the patriot's breaſt, be unknown to the profeſſor of the goſpel. With conſcious dignity of mind, reſulting from a ſenſe of high deſert, he treads the path of public virtue,

virtue, with determined reſolution: or if, like the amiable founder of our religion, he diſſolves in tears at the proſpect of the impending deſolation of his country, yet, aſſiſted by the power of faith, he directs his view to thoſe improved forms of civil polity which future ages ſhall diſcloſe in happier climes; and, enraptured with the glorious proſpect, enjoys a ſource of ſatisfaction, which the ſceptred king may envy,—which the ſelfiſh cannot feel.

Reſtrain the reſentment ariſing from the injuries of unreaſonable men. Thy adverſary ſhall praiſe thy mild forbearance; and thy forgiveneſs of a brother's treſpaſs be requited by the more important pardon of thy own offences againſt the tremendous majeſty of heaven.

But moſt of all, be actively benevolent; glory not in the ferocity of thy nature, nor ſteel it againſt the ſoft ſenſations of pity and compaſſion. Better for thyſelf, as well as others, that thy heart ſhould overflow with the milk of human kindneſs; better that thou ſhouldeſt melt at every tale of woe,

than poſſeſs that unfeeling temper, which forbids thee to rejoice, when thou heareſt the voice of gladneſs; or withholds thy tears, amidſt the diſtreſſes of a creature of like paſſions with thyſelf.

The neceſſities of our brethren are ſo numerous, and the advantages, which the meaneſt of us enjoy, may be rendered ſo effectually ſubſervient to the removal of their ſorrows, that every one, who poſſeſſes the will, may find the power to practiſe this nobleſt virtue,—this moſt eſſential duty of mankind.

The various actions and purſuits of mortal men, diſcordant as they may ſeem to the incurious mind, are directed by the hand of providence to the gener a good.

In the imitation, therefore, of this conduct of the almighty will conſiſt the height of human happineſs; as ſurely, as happineſs may be expected to become our portion, when our hearts are found conſenting with his will.

The relations of life indeed are numerous,

but

but the common bond is one: that bond is ſocial love.

On earth, this joins the hearts of the married pair in ſofteſt ſympathy of affections; unites the maſter to his ſervant, the parent to his child.

In heaven, it forms that ſacred bond, which ſhall hereafter join the angel and archangel, in bleſſed communion with the redeemed of the Lord.

Renounce, therefore, O chriſtian, whatever be thy rank or ſtation, all attachment to thoſe unworthy pleaſures, to thoſe unworthy cares, which would allure thee from a conſcientious diſcharge of the functions of thy proper calling; and be ſtudious to employ each important hour, in the exerciſe of thoſe generous, thoſe manly virtues, which are at once thy duty and thy great reward.

The ſtreams of diſintereſted benevolence, poured forth on all around thee, ſhall ſwell at length the tide of private happineſs. And the bread, which thou haſt caſt on many waters, ſhall, at the appointed time, with vaſt increaſe return to thee again.

Now to the King eternal, immortal, invifible, the only wife God, be honour, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

II. *

PROVERBS III. 17.

"HER WAYS ARE WAYS OF PLEASANTNESS, AND ALL HER PATHS ARE PEACE."

IT is a common obſervation, that happineſs, though in fact obtained by few, is with ardor deſired by us all. The ways of pleaſantneſs, the paths of peace, are ways and paths in which we would all moſt willingly proceed; yet fatal ignorance, yet miſguiding paſſions, frequently ſeduce us from them, and cauſe us to tread with pain the avenues which lead to the abodes of ſorrow, anguiſh, and deſpair. To what cauſe are we to impute this general failure in the grand purſuit of human kind? Whence is it, that, in every ſubordinate art, the labours of men are crowned with ſucceſs, while they deplore with ſighs a conſtant diſappointment

[* This and the following ſermons are now firſt publiſhed from the original manuſcripts.]

ment in the moſt important art of all, the art of attaining to an happy life?

The huſbandman ſhall break the clod, and harrow in the ſeed with ſkill; and ripening ſuns ſhall ſpread the golden harveſt to his view: art ſhall lend her aid, and mould the fruits of that harveſt into bread: and the end of all his toil, and of all his ſkill ſhall be, that he ſhall eat that bread with diſcontent and ſorrow. That care and diligence with which he ſeeks to fill his barns with plenty, ſhall themſelves become the ſources of his diſquietude: the anxieties of an avaricious ſpirit, ſhall embitter his declining years, and forbid him to enjoy in age, that affluence and eaſe, for which he toiled ſo aſſiduouſly in youth. Envy ſhall point at the ſpacious, at the fertile fields of his more ſucceſsful neighbour; and, ſtung with vexation at the proſpect, he ſhall pine in ſecret, when he beholds the habitation of another the ſeat of greater plenty; although, at the ſame time, heaven, with unſparing hand, pours forth ſome of its choiceſt bleſſings upon his own.

Nor is it only with reſpect to the fruits of the earth that we have occaſion to mourn the

the ſad event of all our labours. Let us caſt our eyes on thoſe who go down to the ſea in ſhips, and occupy their buſineſs in great waters. Succeſs ſhall attend upon every exertion of their ſkill: the wealth of either India ſhall invite them to its ſhores; the winds, obedient to their call, ſhall fill their ſails; they ſhall go, and ſhall return in ſafety; and affluence, beyond their utmoſt expectation, ſhall ſeem to reward their toils; yet clouds and darkneſs, ſtorms and tempeſts, ſhall await them at the furtheſt bounds of this delightful proſpect. That happy ſkill which was ſufficient to lead them amidſt ſurrounding ſands and ſhoals to every port, at laſt ſhall fail them: and even theſe ſhall own, that the utmoſt efforts of their art have proved inſufficient to conduct them to the haven of happineſs, that haven where we all would be.

If, to avoid the ſhame of a miſdirected purſuit, and the regret of unavailing labour, we apply for counſel to the moraliſt, or the preacher; they too ſhall ſeem to be in league againſt us, and to conſpire in mocking our inquiries in the ſearch after earthly happineſs. The moraliſt, even he in whoſe

we

maxims we might expect to hear the boaſt of human wiſdom, and in whoſe conduct we might expect to ſee the perfection of human virtue, even he ſhall tell us, that a ſtern inſenſibility to every object of our deſires, is the only expedient that can enſure our peace. And the preacher,* even he whom we have heard, but now pronouncing ſo complete a panegyric on the bleſſings of a religious life, even he ſhall maintain, that there is no profit beneath the ſun, that wiſdom, riches, and honours, are alike vanity, and that vexation of ſpirit is the common attendant on them all. †

How are we to reconcile declarations of the philoſopher ſo repugnant to our feelings, or account for the language of Solomon, ſo expreſſive of diſcontent; ſo contrary to thoſe ſentiments of gratitude to the almighty, which, from the general tenor of his religious inſtructions, we had reaſon to expect? Shall we demonſtrate to the ſtoic the abſurdity of his maxim, and ſhow him the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing that, while the happineſs of all other creatures conſiſts in the indulgence and gratification of their ſeveral

* Eccleſ. i. 1. † Eccleſ. i. 14. ii. 11. &c.

ſeveral inſtincts, the felicity of man ſhould be found in a perpetual oppoſition to the dictates of his nature? Shall we, in reply to Solomon, aſſert, that a language which would perſuade us totally to diſregard the goods of this life, muſt at the ſame time caſt a gloom over the mind, and damp that ſpirit, which is neceſſary to our exertions, in the more active ſcenes of piety and virtue? Shall we expoſtulate with him on his apparent inconſiſtency? Shall we inquire of him at what period of his life he adopted ſo diſcouraging a ſyſtem? While he was yet young he prayed for wiſdom, and God gave him an underſtanding heart. When was it that he diſcovered ſuch a gift to be of no eſtimation? Was it when it enabled him to diſcern judgment, to defeat the unnatural pretenſions of a falſe claimant, and to reſtore peace and comfort to the boſom of an agonizing mother? Or, when he grew old, took unto himſelf ſtrange women, and ſuffered them to turn his heart after other gods. When he had given himſelf not only to know wiſdom, but madneſs and folly alſo.* When he had diſobeyed his own precepts, had

* Eccleſ. i. 17.

had ſinned againſt knowledge, and wronged his own ſoul;* well might he be induced to ſay, that in much wiſdom is much grief; and he "that increaſeth knowledge increaſeth ſorrow."†

Becauſe he had prayed for an underſtanding heart, God gave him alſo riches and honour.‡ When was it he found reaſon to be diſſatisfied with his abundance? Was it while he was employing it in building a temple to the Lord Jehovah, or, when he was raiſing high places to the idols of Moab and of Ammon?

When Solomon had diſregarded the counſel of wiſdom; when he had abuſed the gifts of riches and honour, then did they turn to his diſquiet; then did they appear to be vanity and vexation of ſpirit. Yet God, the giver of all, rejoiceth in the happineſs of man, and, to an attentive reader, the hiſtory of Solomon, and the cauſes of his diſcontent, will afford a leſſon no leſs inſtructive, than the wiſdom of his maxims, or the piety of his religious exhortations.

If

* Prov. viii. 36. † Eccleſ. i. 18.

‡ 1 Kings iii. 9—13.

If then we make a candid appeal to the nature and condition of our being, I truſt, it will appear, that life is not that rugged and barren wilderneſs, in which we meet only with thorns to torment, and mazes to bewilder; but that the path is open, and a guide ready, to whoſe directions we may ſecurely truſt; and without renouncing one ſolid ſatisfaction, without declining one honourable, and intereſting purſuit, may be enabled to acknowledge at the cloſe of our journey, that the ways in which ſhe has led us, have been ways of pleaſantneſs, and that all her paths have been the paths of peace?

We ſeek, and obtain not, becauſe we ſeek amiſs: we miſtake too frequently the means for the end; we attach ourſelves to the goods of life as our final object, when they ſhould be uſed only as means to facilitate our improvement in piety and benevolence. If we form a falſe eſtimate of that happineſs which our maker deſigned for us; if we look for it in circumſtances and ſituations, where it would be to the diſhonour of God for true enjoyment, for laſting happineſs to be found; well may we have reaſon to

lament, that our wiſhes have been ſucceſs-leſs, and our labour vain.

In the remaining part of this diſcourſe, therefore, I will endeavour, firſt, to deſcribe the nature of that religion which the almighty, in his mercy, intended to be the guide of man: and, ſecondly, to point out ſome of the moſt beneficial effects of this gift of God upon every ſcene of ſocial life.

Religion is commonly divided by us chriſtians, into the religion of reaſon, and the religion of the goſpel: but they are equally the voice of God, and evidences of his good will to man.

By the aſſiſtance of our natural powers, we may trace out that goodneſs and loving kindneſs of the almighty king, which beam forth with a brighter luſtre to a rational mind, than even that power and majeſty which ſurround his eternal throne. From hence ariſe thoſe pious affections of gratitude and love, and that upright conduct which our reaſon informs us, muſt neceſſarily be the duty of man; this is true religion, the religion of the heart.

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The religion of the goſpel confirms thoſe truths which our natural powers enable us to perceive,—affords us additional motives for our pious affections, and for our religious performance of thoſe duties, which had been ſuggeſted by reaſon, that nobleſt faculty of the human mind.

The religion of reaſon, therefore, I would define to be true religion, unaſſiſted by any extraordinary revelation, more particularly as not partaking of the benefits ariſing from that ſuperior light, and important information, which the almighty hath afforded us in the goſpel of his ſon.

The religion of reaſon, firſt, calls upon us to look round upon the face of that earth, which is our preſent habitation; ſhe points to the wonderful care of nature, in the formation of every plant and flower which diverſifies its ſurface; ſhe ſuggeſts to us the contemplation of the ſtill more numerous uſes for which each plant and flower ſprings up, and withers, and decays; how each contributes to the being and the enjoyment of the innumerable ſpecies of living creatures, with which every element is

filled; how each, and all, conduce to the ſatisfaction of nature's faireſt produce, the rational mind: and, finally, leads us to conclude, that theſe infinitely varied objects of ſight, of ſmell, of touch, are not the effects of wayward chance, but owe their origin to one, almighty, ever-living God, who firſt formed them from nothing by his creative voice, and now ſupports them in exiſtence by the word of his power; that, though numerous as the ſands of the ſhore, they are all the produce of one mighty being, of one everlaſting parent of all good.

The religion of reaſon alſo calls upon us to obſerve the methods of God's providence, the nature of that adminiſtration with which he rules among the ſons of men. And here, when we behold that "the race is not always to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong;" that the wicked are often proſperous in their wickedneſs, while the virtuous mourn beneath the weight of their affliction, the careleſs obſerver is but too ready to conclude, that one event will happen to all; and that wiſdom in the formation of a plan, or firmneſs

neſs in the execution, is in vain ſought for in the counſels of heaven.

Vain, inconſiderate objector! reflect a moment on the nature of virtue, on the nature of man. To generate thoſe diſpoſitions, to call forth thoſe powers with which, by nature's wiſeſt, moſt indiſſoluble law, true happineſs can only be combined, is the greateſt effort of goodneſs, the nobleſt ſcheme of wiſdom. Were uninterrupted enjoyment connected with every object of ſenſe, where then ſhould we find that enduring patience, that meek ſubmiſſion to the will of heaven which ſubdues thoſe fiercer paſſions of our frame, from whence diſorder and miſery would ariſe in the boſom even of paradiſe itſelf? Where then would be our field for the exertion of humanity in the diſtreſſes of our neighbour? It is the ſenſe of our mutual weakneſs which powerfully contributes to endear us to each other; were there no troubles, therefore, in this mortal courſe, where would be the joys of friendſhip; thoſe ſacred joys which bind together the hearts of men in confidence and ſocial love.

By the evils of humanity we are indeed diſtreſſed : to be without thoſe evils, before the virtues are implanted, would diſtreſs us more. Pride and envy, and that greateſt of all misfortunes, an unfeeling heart, would be the natural produce of a ſtate from whence every kind of ſuffering, which we call evil, was excluded. If it be true, as unqueſtionably it is, that the ſocial feelings render us ſuſceptible of the ſublimeſt pleaſures, it is the goodneſs, not the vengeance of the almighty, which has placed us during this dawn of our exiſtence, in a ſtate which affords the moſt likely means for their production and happy growth. If the happineſs of the human mind conſiſt in action ; thanks to that indulgent heaven which has made it neceſſary for man to labour, before he can obtain the means of his ſubſiſtence ! If ſocial joys be indeed deſirable, as moſt deſirable they are ; praiſed be that wiſdom which, in our firſt formation, ſaw " it was not good for man to be alone" ! If the performing and receiving offices of mutual kindneſs be one of the ſweeteſt, one of the nobleſt ſources of our ſatisfaction ; glorified be that

that goodneſs which mutually ſubjected my neighbour and myſelf to diſtreſs and trouble, as, by theſe means, in our turn, we feel the pleaſure of receiving benefits, and the ſtill greater pleaſure of conferring them! If, as we are taught by the voice of reaſon, the future ſtate, the heaven of man, will be a ſtate wherein, unmoleſted by pain and trouble, we are to derive our happineſs from the virtues here implanted in our hearts; let us acknowledge and venerate the fitneſs of that diſpenſation, which, for a time, ordains us to bear our own, and each other's burthens in this mixed mortal ſcene, in order to render us capable of enjoying our own, and each others happineſs, in a ſtate which is immortal, and where pain ſhall be no more.

The religion of reaſon, laſtly, calls upon us, from the knowledge of our maker, from the knowledge of his providence, to deduce the ſtill more important knowledge of our duty. And here alſo, if the vehemence of paſſion would permit to us the free and unmoleſted exerciſe of our reaſon, the voice of religion might be plainly heard:

like a trumpet's ſound, it would go forth to every nation under heaven, and, amidſt the almoſt infinite variety of human laws and cuſtoms, would uniformly ſpeak the ſame language unto all,—it would inform us, that we are all the children of one common father. We ſhall, therefore, all perform our duty, and, in conſequence, ſhall all be happy, if we do our father's will. Nor hath he left himſelf in this inſtance without witneſs; nor involved in myſterious doubts and uncertainty the nature of thoſe actions which he wills us to perform. He hath ſet us an example in that goodneſs which cauſeth the ſun to riſe, which ſendeth us rain and fruitful ſeaſons, and which filleth our hearts with joy and gladneſs. If then the author of all being, the fountain of all bliſs, perpetually exert his power in the production of good, we may reſt aſſured, that it is our duty, according to our ſeveral capacities, to imitate the God of nature, and to do likewiſe. The great end of true religion is to purify human nature, and to aſſimilate it to the divine. If, as we grow in wiſdom, we improve in virtue; if, as riches increaſe

creaſe, our gratitude to God become more fervent, and our beneficence to our neighbour more extenſive; if the means of ſocial intercourſe humanize our hearts, and meliorate our affections; if, in our reſpective ſpheres of action, we ſincerely endeavour to co-operate with the almighty in his darling works of mercy and of love; we may be confident that, in due time, we ſhall be partakers of his joy. To acquire, therefore, the poſſeſſion of ſuch a principle as teaches us to look upon all men, however diſtinguiſhed by climate, language, ſect, or party, as the children of one indulgent parent, and induces us, in every word and action, to regard their intereſts with a brother's love, is the ſum and ſubſtance of all human duty. Do this and thou ſhalt live. Ceaſe then, O philoſopher! from thy laborious ſearch; the greateſt good of man, is found; he no longer ſhall complain of perpetual diſappointment, for moſt aſſuredly the man, whoſe primary aim and conſtant endeavour is to make others happy, ſhall himſelf be happy.

" But when, and where ſhall he be happy?" the voice of doubt again exclaims. " Do we not ſee him growing up like a flower, and, like a flower withering beneath the blaſt of heaven, gradually decay; until, at length, with an intire privation of thought and conſciouſneſs, he drops into the tomb? Where then is the boaſt of reaſon, the expected reward of doing well, the continual feaſt of conſcience, the everlaſting fruits of virtue?"

In a word, we anſwer. " Reaſon leads us, from the knowledge of our creator, to hope for an hereafter; but the goſpel confirms that hope beyond the poſſibility of diſappointment. The evidence of a man, who was himſelf raiſed from the dead, in proof of a doctrine whoſe primary aim is to aſſure us of our reſurrection, is inconteſtible, and carries with it irreſiſtible perſuaſion to every attentive mind. The moral perfections of the ſoul, the virtues of the rational mind, touched by the rude hand of death, may perhaps, like the flower of the evening, cloſe for a time their yet imperfect forms; but the gloomy night, and darkneſs of the grave ſhall quickly paſs, the morning of the reſurrection

rection ſhall arrive ; they ſhall then expand their fragrant bloſſoms beneath the influence of brighter ſuns, and flouriſh in the poſſeſſion of an eternal day."

Such appears to be the religion of nature, and the goſpel. We will now proceed, as we propoſed at firſt, to trace its beneficial effects upon every ſcene of ſocial life.

Religion, conſiſting in the proper culture of the affections of the mind, reſpecting God and man, muſt, by its very nature, be eſſential to that happineſs, which God, the maker of man, hath intended for his creatures. He it is who hath placed us in the ſeveral relations of father, brother, friend. The pleaſures which ſpring from the performance of the correſpondent duties, are ordained by him, from whom every capacity of happineſs is derived. A perpetual attention, therefore, to the almighty's will ; a ſettled determination in our ſouls to reſign our ways to his all-directing providence, muſt be moſt likely to produce the fruits of peace on earth ; moſt likely to inſpire us with good-will towards men.

The fact is anſwerable to what reaſon would lead us to expect. Look round upon the

the world, and you will always find, that he whoſe ſoul is thoroughly informed with the principle of manly piety, is juſt and honourable in all his actions; that he will beſt peform the duty of a father to his children, whoſe heart is penetrated with a due ſenſe of his own dependence on his father who is in heaven,—who, conſcious of the bleſſings every moment conferred upon himſelf, will ſeek to communicate the means of happineſs to thoſe, who are formed by the almighty to be, for a time, dependent on his bounty.

It is a conſideration of a ſimilar kind which expands our affections beyond the limits of domeſtic duty, when, conſcious of our obligations to that community from which we receive, as members, the fruits of a parental love, we regard that community with a filial reverence. In vain ſhall we expect to meet with an heart truly animated with zeal for its country's cauſe, in a breaſt which is deſtitute of piety to God. Let hiſtory unfold her inſtructive page; her records will eſtabliſh the truth of this great, this important maxim,—that there is no reliance upon that ſteady perſevering virtue which true

patriotiſm

patriotiſm requires, where the principles of religion and of public ſpirit are not inſeparably united.

The deſire of being ſerviceable to our country is indeed the moſt exalted paſſion that can animate the boſom of a citizen. And although few are called to ſit in the great aſſembly of the nation, or to direct thoſe counſels upon which the intereſts of the public more immediately depend; yet every man, however humble his ſtation, may find opportunities of ſhowing his filial affection, and public ſpirit: every man may prove himſelf worthy, in theſe reſpects, to be eſteemed a valuable member of the community, by uniting with the exerciſe of his private duties, thoſe inſtances of ſelf-denial, fidelity, and affectionate exertion, which are the effect of that pure and tranſporting ſentiment, the love of our country.

But it is chiefly in the more private walks of ſocial life that we are to look for the more conſtant operation of the religious principle. There, every day and every hour preſents us with occaſions to intereſt the humanity of others, and opportunities to exerciſe

exerciſe our own. When outward troubles are ready to overwhelm us; when adverſity approaches; when we look round, and tremble leſt a friend be no where found; from whom are we moſt likely to meet with ſuccour and ſupport? In ſuch diſtreſs, we do not flee to him whoſe ſoul, attached to ſordid cares, in every thought regarding ſelf alone, acknowledges no other fountain of his bliſs, no other partner of his joy: in ſuch diſtreſs, we do not flee to him whoſe heart, devoted to the blandiſhments of pleaſure, is equally a ſtranger to the ſocial feelings; but to him who, in whatever degree he enjoys the bleſſings of heaven, conſiders himſelf as the diſpenſer of them to his brethren; who, knowing, and with grateful heart acknowledging, that he hath nothing which he hath not received, ſhews his dependence upon the almighty giver of all good by imitating his bounty, and evidences his gratitude to his heavenly father, by making happy thoſe who are created in that father's likeneſs.

Let us repreſent to ourſelves a ſcene, for many ſuch there are, where poverty and pain,

pain, and ſad diſeaſe, combine their utmoſt force to ſink the ſufferer in all the depths of woe; let us further add the undeſerved loſs of reputation; and, to complete the horrors of his ſtate, let us ſuppoſe the ſubject of our contemplation has a ſpirit which can feel that loſs. To the aſtoniſhment of the beholders, he ſhall ſupport himſelf in the midſt of this complicated diſtreſs; nay, he ſhall riſe nobly ſuperior to all theſe evils: but whence? His eye is fixed upon that crown of glory which religion appears to hold out to him from the ſkies; his thoughts are intent upon the recompenſe of reward, being ſtedfaſt in the perſuaſion, "that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, ſhall be able to ſeparate him from the love of God in Chriſt."*

Nor can we be inſenſible of the conſolations of religion in the diſtreſsful ſituation of an heart wounded with the loſs of dear and juſtly valued friends. In vain we ſeek the ſcenes

* Rom. viii. 38. 39.

ſcenes of ſolitude and retirement; it is in the ſcenes of ſolitude and retirement, that we recollect thoſe graceful actions, that pleaſing converſe, the loſs of which we then the moſt deplore: thus reflection adds to the ſorrow of our ſtate. Vain alſo the attempt, by plunging in buſineſs or diſſipation, to ſhake off the oppreſſive load which bows our ſoul. Religion here appears the ſole reſource; ſhe gently pours her lenient balm into the afflicted boſom; ſhe points to the radiant ſphere of heaven, to the future habitation of the bleſſed, to a ſtate where every ſocial ſatisfaction which our connection with this world hath afforded, ſhall be reſtored, with the addition of others without meaſure, and over which, deſtroying time ſhall in vain exert its power.

One ſcene yet remains to be deſcribed; the favourite ſcene of virtue, the ſcene of death. When the man, ſupported by the recollection of many glorious and ſucceſsful combats in the cauſe of virtue, looks upon the ſorrows of ſurrounding friends, with pity and compaſſion,—upon the pangs of nature in his diſſolution, without a ſigh. The

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ſenſations of the truly religious at that awful hour, imagination can with difficulty paint; they are ſuch as we in vain ſhall endeavour to deſcribe. But let it not be our endeavour rightly to conceive, let it not be our endeavour juſtly to deſcribe the joys of the virtuous believer at his departing hour, let us rather labour that we may deſerve to feel them.

The beneficial efficacy of religion, in controlling that ſelfiſh principle, to which all the diſorders of human life are to be referred, is ſo apparent, that the worſt of men have frequently been induced to aſſume the appearance of it, though their hearts are ſtrangers to its real power and practice. Hypocriſy, therefore, itſelf bears teſtimony to our cauſe: it ſuppoſes that there is ſomething in the form and compoſition of true religion, which renders it advantageous, and pleaſing to man.

The importance of religion to dependent creatures is a truth ſo firmly founded, that the human heart, with unbidden veneration, bows down before it. From the apprehenſion of its importance, grafted on a proud or timid ſpirit, is derived the ex-

iſtence of thoſe horrid forms of ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm which, by turns, have poſſeſſed, and laid waſte the world.

But it is in vain, thou faireſt gift of God to man! that either ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm would attempt to aſſume thy benignant aſpect, and uſurp thy peaceful honours. The baneful influence of both, on every ſcene of ſocial life, betrays their counterfeited charms, and points them out to the diſcerning eye as the offspring of the enemy of God and man. The countenance of true religion is ever placid and ſerene: her hand pours forth the choiceſt bleſſings of the almighty; her ſecret influence inſpires our ſouls with patience, faith, and holy hope; and, to ſum up all, upon her graceful brow, ſhe wears this everlaſting motto, "My ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all my paths are peace."

Now to the one, almighty, everlaſting God, be aſcribed all might, power, majeſty, and dominion, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord!

III.

III.

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, MARCH 28, 1773. AND AT THE VISITATION OF THE ARCHDEACON OF SUFFOLK, SEPTEMBER 25, THE SAME YEAR.

MATT. V. 16.

"LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS, AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN."

THE only expreſſion in my text, which has the leaſt appearance of difficulty, is contained in its concluding clauſe. We may ſee and acknowledge the propriety of a precept, injoining us to diſplay our religious attainments, and our moral virtues in the ſight of men; but yet may be at a loſs to determine, in what manner our heavenly father will be glorified by ſuch a conduct.

The genuine ſenſe of this paſſage will,

however, ſoon diſcloſe itſelf upon a proper attention to the diſcriminating character of the chriſtian diſpenſation, and a juſt compariſon of the words in queſtion with ſimilar modes of ſpeech in holy writ.

The expectations of a temporal meſſiah among the jews, and the depraved ſtate of mind induced into the gentile world, by the cultivation of a falſe philoſophy, had ſo far blinded the underſtandings, and debauched the morals of that race of men, to whom the religion of the goſpel was revealed, that there is too much reaſon to ſuppoſe, without the aid of prophetical illumination, that its true and holy doctrines would be, in a manner, univerſally rejected; and its preachers expoſed to every form of perſecution, and diſtreſs.

It may alſo be obſerved that the religion contained in this laſt beſt gift of the almighty, was altogether of an heavenly temper. A religion, which, though favourable to principles of liberty and independence, yet looked with equal indifference upon every form of civil power, then eſtabliſhed in the world; a religion, friendly indeed to every inſtitution which is cal-

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lated to promote the temporal happineſs of man; but primarily intended to inform the minds of individuals with thoſe pious and benevolent affections, which prepare us for the enjoyment of more ſubſtantial gratifications in a better ſtate.

From theſe conſiderations, we may eaſily collect it to be the intention of the creator, that this religion, though, at firſt, it was to be ſupported by plain and evident tokens of the divine interpoſition in its favour, ſhould afterwards extend itſelf by the innate force of its own intrinſic excellence, and by the full diſplay of thoſe moral beauties, which, however counteracted in their operation, for a time, by oppoſing violence, and other obſtructions of a temporary nature, would at length be found to exert an irreſiſtible influence over the human mind.

It ſeems, therefore, that the author of our religion, in this place, exhorts his followers to endeavour to diffuſe the knowledge of the goſpel, and to extend its influence, by an experimental diſplay of its reforming power upon themſelves. A manly, noble, gene-

rous method of proceeding! which, had it been ſtrictly conformed to in every ſucceeding generation, would, before this period, have rendered the religion of the goſpel, the religion of the world.

This expoſition is confirmed by the particular import of the words, when compared with ſimilar expreſſions in the ſacred writings.

When Jeſus exhorts his hearers to acknowledge the juſtice of his claims to the character of a teacher ſent from God, he aſſures them, that whoſoever had ſeen him, had ſeen the father; * that whoſoever received him, received him that ſent him.† From which paſſages, as well as many others of the ſame kind, we may with certainty infer, that the ſeeing, ‡ the receiving, § the

* John xiv. 9.

† Matt. x. 40.

‡ "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had ſin; but now they have both ſeen, and hated both me and my father." John xv. 24.

§ "Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, he that receiveth whomſoever I ſend, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that ſent me." John xiii. 20.

the knowing,* the glorifying † of the father, in ſcripture-acceptation, imply the ſame, as the acknowledging the authority of that perſon whom the father ſent: and here denote an intire, unreſerved aſſent to that ſyſtem of religion, which he was commiſſioned by the father to reveal.

Among the various ſources of aſſent, there are none which operate ſo ſucceſsfully as thoſe, wherein we are conſcious of exerting the voluntary powers of the mind. Religious principles may be the offspring of terror; may be impreſſed by education; but when they are the produce of ſerious, earneſt

* "Then ſaid they unto him, where is thy father? Jeſus anſwered, ye neither know me, nor my father; if ye had known me, ye ſhould have known my father alſo. John viii. 19.—"If ye had known me, ye ſhould have known my father alſo: and from henceforth ye know him, and have ſeen him." John xiv. 7.

† "And there came a fear on all: and they glorified God, ſaying, that a great prophet is riſen up among us; and, that God hath viſited his people." Luke vii. 16.—"Therefore when he was gone out, Jeſus ſaid, now is the ſon of man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God be glorified in him, God ſhall alſo glorify him in himſelf, and ſhall ſtraightway glorify him." John xiii. 31 and 32.

neſt, and diſpaſſionate attention, they always are found to be more deeply infixed in the receſſes of the ſoul, and to exert a more extenſive influence over the affections of the heart.

It is the deſire of happineſs which calls forth theſe voluntary powers, and animates us to inveſtigate that mode of action which is moſt likely to be conducive to our intereſt. And, therefore, if upon inquiry it ſhould appear that the profeſſion of a particular religion is attended in the perſon who acknowledges its influence, by a ſuperior quantity of real enjoyment, the deſire of partaking of that enjoyment, will naturally induce us to examine minutely into its ſources, and, at length, to adopt the principle, from which ſuch beneficial practice flows.

The force of this obſervation may perhaps appear ſtill ſtronger by an obvious analogy.

Let us ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of a certain diſtrict are obſerved to enjoy a more than ordinary degree of activity and ſtrength: let us further ſuppoſe, that their minds are, in a remarkable manner, exempt from inflaming

ſiaming paſſions; their bodies from the influence of diſeaſe: and laſtly, that their days are extended to the utmoſt verge of human life.

The ſingularity of theſe appearances would invite us to attend to all the circumſtances of the caſe; and the love of happineſs implanted in our frame, would add new vigour to that curioſity, which is ſo natural to the mind of man. Perſons of all principles, ſects, and parties, forgetting their mutual animoſities, would think themſelves intereſted in inquiring into thoſe ſecret ſprings and cauſes, which produced ſuch extraordinary effects: and, upon the diſcovery of them, would be powerfully impelled to adopt thoſe principles, and to imitate that mode of conduct, which, upon experiment, had been found ſo beneficial to our ſpecies: all other motives and incentives to any courſe of action muſt be ineffectual, if theſe will not ſucceed. We act in every inſtance upon the expectation of enjoyment: and when we fail of this our grand purſuit, we err through miſtake, or ignorance of the means. But, when the cauſe and effect are viſibly united;

united; when we behold the principle exerting itſelf in the actual production of a real good, to refuſe our aſſent to the principle, or not to imitate the practice, would be to diſown thoſe affections, which operate moſt powerfully in the direction of the will.

Let us now apply the ſame method of reaſoning to the caſe in queſtion.

If it be obſerved, that the perſons who make profeſſion of a particular religion are more equitable in their dealings, more ſincere in their deportment, more friendly in their mutual intercourſes, than the inhabitants of the nations that ſurround them; that they are alſo diſtinguiſhed by an induſtrious application of their various talents to the duties of their reſpective callings; that the fervent heart of every citizen glows with the ardour of diſintereſted affection to his country: that integrity, honour, mildneſs, and ſoft-eyed compaſſion regulate their demeanour in every walk of private life; that, ſteady in the practice of each ſocial virtue, they taſte with tranſport the various bounties of indulgent providence, and offer, in return, that tribute, which is moſt pleaſ-

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ing to the almighty, the tribute of a grateful heart. That when the unavoidable evils of humanity afflict them, they turn their thoughts to the ſupreme diſpoſer of all events with that ſubmiſſive patience, with that holy reſignation to the will of heaven, which teaches them to look upon the things of this world with the indifference of a gueſt, who tarries but a day : that, in the hour of their departure, they reſign, with filial confidence, their ſouls to that good being, from whom they received each capacity of thought and action, and lie down in death, ſecure of riſing to the poſſeſſion of every genuine ſatisfaction, of every grateful enjoyment which the heart can conceive, or the God, who endued that heart with the perception of pleaſure, can beſtow—how weak and inefficacious is every other argument in favour of a particular perſuaſion, when compared with this ! and, how ſtrong a preſumption does it afford us of the truth of the religion we profeſs, that, inſtead of founding her authority on force, ſhe always appeals to her peaceful triumphs over the diſcordant paſſions, and oppoſing vices of mankind !

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Arrayed in garments dipped in blood, let the impoſtor go forth conquering, and to conquer, wherever the turkiſh creſcent awes the proſtrate nations. Let the ſtill more tremendous terrors of the inquiſition guard thy faith, O antichriſtian Rome! The religion of the goſpel will ever be diſtinguiſhed by her calm appeal unto the light of reaſon, and evidence her title to our ſtrict obedience, by her healthful operation on the ſoul of man.

The particular circumſtances of the world, when firſt the religion of Jeſus was unfolded, throw further light upon this benevolent precept of the prince of peace.

We may compriſe the difficulties, with which the firſt propagators of the goſpel had to contend, in two ſhort obſervations.

It might naturally be expected, that the jews would hold it in abhorrence, becauſe it tended to deprive them of every flattering expectation of that temporal grandeur, for which they fondly wiſhed, and which no conſideration of a merely ſpiritual nature could induce them to reſign.

And the gentiles would naturally be inclined

clined to hold it in abhorrence, as it directly ſtruck at that idolatrous worſhip, and immoral conduct, which were countenanced by every eſtabliſhed inſtitution, whether of a civil or a religious kind.

In ſuch circumſtances, had its founders endeavoured to ſupport it by the ſtrength of human power, its duration would, probably, have terminated almoſt in the moment of its appearance, and even the hiſtory of its deſtruction have been to us unknown.

Had they endeavoured to raiſe it upon the ruins of preceding eſtabliſhments by the aid of political contrivance, it would probably, in the common courſe of human affairs, have yielded to political contrivance in its turn: and the recorded declaration of its author, that "the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt it," have become an undeniable evidence of its having originated in falſhood and impoſture. It ſeems, therefore, that any mode of conduct, different from that which was purſued by the primitive profeſſors of the goſpel, in obedience to the advice of their divine inſtructor, could

could not have been attended with a ſimilar ſucceſs.

Religion had ſo freqently been rendered ſubſervient to political intereſts, and ſelfiſh purpoſes, that men juſtly called for ſome leſs equivocal evidence of the truth of a ſyſtem, which claimed to itſelf a right of directing the conduct of mankind. That evidence was afforded in its fulleſt luſtre, when the ſoftened manners, and the heavenly temper of chriſtian people, were propoſed as the demonſtration of the truth, and purity of chriſtian faith.

By the fruits of the goſpel, manifeſted in each part of the irreproachable demeanour of its true diſciples, their adverſaries were invited to judge of the tree from which they ſprang. They were invited to contemplate the mighty powers of a religion, which could diſarm the mind of anger, in the moment of its fierceſt reſentment; and finally prevail over every incentive to thoſe crimes, which, as appeared from ſad experience, human laws were found unable to reſtrain. At a time when every unworthy inclination reigned in the place of thoſe affections, to which

which we owe the comforts of domeſtic life, men were invited to behold the power of this religion, in triumphing over every lawleſs indulgence, every licentious practice, which the violence of diſtorted imagination, aided by the ſtrength of inveterate cuſtom, had eſtabliſhed in the world. They were invited to behold the influence of this religion in inſpiring that breaſt with pious ſentiments, which was formerly the ſeat of irreligion, and profaneneſs; in generating the principles of an upright, honeſt, friendly, and beneficent deportment in that heart, which was deformed by every paſſion which could render us odious to our neighbour, and miſerable to ourſelves.

Theſe fruits of the faith, produced an animated attention to the chriſtian cauſe. Upon examination into the principles of conduct recommended in the goſpel, they appeared to be ſuch as might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to form the moſt effectual inducements to every worthy action; they derived an influence, permanent, as well as tranſcendent, from that glorious hope of immortality, which, in preference to thoſe opinions

nions that have ſo long unworthily divided the diſciples of Jeſus, forms the grand, and fundamental article of the chriſtian creed; and the effects produced in conſequence of this belief were themſelves a teſtimony, that the evidence, by which this important truth was ſupported, reſted on the ſolid baſis of unqueſtionable fact.

To a deflection from the purity and ſimplicity of manners, which were ſo eminently conſpicuous in the earlier ages of chriſtianity, we are to aſcribe the inconſiderable progreſs of the goſpel in ſucceeding times. Hence, at this day, the pious diſciple of the benevolent Jeſus, mourns that the religion of his maſter is bounded by the limits of kingdoms, and of nations; and, that in ſo many portions of the habitable earth, its profeſſion, or its influence, is even ſtill unknown. We bear the name of chriſtian indeed, to every region of the globe; but, at the ſame time, we bear along with it thoſe horrid forms of vice, by which that name is diſhonoured, and defiled. The inhabitants of many a diſtant clime, aſtoniſhed at the contrariety between

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our profeſſions and our practice, are juſtly induced to ſuſpect that we ourſelves believe not the doctrines we inculcate; and, therefore, may with reaſon hold faſt that form of faith, which their more virtuous anceſtors have eſtabliſhed in their land.

The obligation to adorn a chriſtian profeſſion by a chriſtian practice, riſes with the increaſing profligacy of theſe degenerate times.

There are, indeed, moments of diſtreſs and danger, in which even the heart of the moſt licentious infidel is chilled by the ſeverity of his own reflections. But, how unlike to the effects of true religion are the impreſſions thus produced in a mind like this! His ſoul is aſtoniſhed and overwhelmed by the horrors of a ſuperſtition which ſtill degrades it more; but, as his danger diſappears, his apprehenſions of futurity vaniſh; and his infidel manners, and diſſolute profaneneſs return with his returning health. Thus religion becomes, in his idea, another name for weakneſs: and the reflections, which ſhe ought to raiſe within the breaſt, upon every view of our mortality, are referred to the

claſs of thoſe mental wanderings, which are frequently obſerved to take place, when the fleſh and the heart begin to fail.

In ſuch times, therefore, it concerns the real friends of the goſpel to convince their brethren, that the religion they profeſs, is the ſource of calm compoſure; the parent of every ſober joy; that it containeth ſanctions, naturally productive of a virtuous, uniform, conſiſtent character, and fitted to reſtore to its proper dignity, the mind of man.

He then is religion's trueſt friend, who adorns his profeſſion by works of piety and virtue; he beſt will vindicate it from the aſperſions of its foes. "You traduce," he will ſay, "by words, the character and pretenſions of Jeſus: I refute you by my works. You urge, perhaps, that my underſtanding is only nominally convinced by his doctrine: but the conſtant tenor of my conduct ſhall prove to you, that I have no temptation to ſuch deceit: for every unworthy affection of my heart is ſubdued to the perſuaſion of its truth. You ſuppoſe, that, in the time of danger, ſuperſtitious horrors ſhall invade me;

me; but I will ſhew you, that my mind is compoſed and tranquil, ſubmiſſive in all things to the will of heaven, and in the hour of death, with holy hope, confiding in its God."*

* [This ſermon concluded, originally, with a very cloſe and animated application to the caſe of the clergy; but as the author afterwards inſerted this concluſion, verbatim, in No. 13, of " Every man his own prieſt," it was thought unneceſſary to annex it here.—See vol. iii. p. 233.]

IV.

1 SAM. XV. 22.

"AND SAMUEL SAID, HATH THE LORD AS GREAT DELIGHT IN BURNT-OFFERINGS AND SACRIFICES, AS IN OBEYING THE VOICE OF THE LORD? BEHOLD! TO OBEY IS BETTER THAN SACRIFICE; AND TO HEARKEN, THAN THE FAT OF RAMS."

THE weakneſs of mankind, in every age and country, hath induced them to hope, that the performance of the external rites of religion will atone for their failure in the ſubſtantial deeds of virtue: and, it is to be feared, that even the miniſters of religion, have too frequently countenanced this deluſion; until, at length, they have confirmed an error, which the folly of the ſuperſtitious multitude, hath always rendered them too willing to embrace. We find, however, from the portion of ſcripture juſt recited, that Samuel, though himſelf a prieſt, was too zealous for the real honour of his maker, to ſacrifice the intereſts of true religion to any

outward form, although that form was inſtituted by God himſelf; nor, led by ſervile flattery, or ſlaviſh fear, could he be prevailed upon to diſſemble his indignation, on account of the violated laws of God, although the daring offender was a king.

The ſame fatal error, into which Saul appears to have fallen, prevails ſtill amongſt the profeſſors of a religion, more pure and ſimple than that under which he lived: an error the leſs pardonable, as chriſtianity expreſsly preſcribes to us a worſhip of our maker, in holineſs and truth. The goſpel contains a religion which encourages the ſacrifice of the affections, the tender of a heart deeply imbued with a ſenſe of manly piety and virtue; the nobleſt and the moſt acceptable ſacrifice which a creature can offer, the moſt honourable which the creator can receive.

Let us look round upon the face of nature; let us behold the wonderful fabric of the univerſe, the numerous ranks and orders of living creatures which inhabit it, and learn from thence, that the God of nature delighteth in works of mercy, in labours of love. Man, formed in his image

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and ſimilitude, can, then, only hope to taſte enjoyment, when he imitates this fair example; and, from the exerciſe of his benevolent affections, riſes to the adoration of the creator, who is bleſſed for ever. The performance, therefore, of ſuch actions as naturally flow from our admiration of ſuch unbounded love, is the ſum and ſubſtance of all religious duty: whoſoever perſevereth in the practice of them muſt be happy.

Such is the religion which reaſon dictates, and which, therefore, the God of reaſon muſt approve.

Let us now attend to the religion of the prieſt; of him, I mean, who, bound by his profeſſion to an implicit veneration for forms and ceremonies, and permitted in his doctrine to preach only the opinions of the church in which he miniſters, is too apt to miſtake the ſpirit of eſtabliſhments for the ſpirit of devotion, and to forget, with Saul, that "to obey is better than ſacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams." He will tell you, that religion conſiſteth in the profeſſion of a particular form of faith, and in the conſtant attendance upon the ſer-

vice of the church. He will tell you, that it is your duty to be daily preſent in the courts of the moſt high, in order that you may be entitled to thoſe ſpiritual bleſſings, which are diſpenſed by the miniſters of the goſpel, and may receive, from their hands, the benefit of abſolution. He will tell you, that, before all things, it is neceſſary that you hold the catholic faith; and then, 'tis well, if he proceeds not to inſult your underſtanding with ſuch a deſcription of that faith, as neither himſelf, nor his hearers can ever comprehend. He will tell you, that it is better not to pray at all, than to pray in any form or manner which is not authorized by the ſanction of the church: he will tell you, that you ought to make uſe of the forms preſcribed in his liturgy, although you do not underſtand them; and, that it is profaneneſs to neglect them, although you ſhould think they contain addreſſes to a being, whom you do not allow to be the object of adoration. He will talk much of the benefit of faith, in oppoſition to the benefit of works; and will inſtruct you to rely upon the merits of your ſaviour,

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until you ſhall become intirely careleſs, whether you have any virtues of your own: in your departing hour, he ſhall ſtand before you in the ſacred veſtments of his order; you ſhall look up to him for abſolution, while he, a poor, weak, ſinful mortal like yourſelves, ſhall aſſume to himſelf the title of the ambaſſador of God; and, though your life has been deformed by every kind of vice, ſhall, in the name of the father, ſon, and holy ghoſt, aſſure you of the pardon of your ſins. Such are the deluſions which, on one ſide, the ignorance or the policy of prieſts has ſubſtituted for the ſolid foundations of true religion; deluſions, no leſs fallacious than thoſe groundleſs terrors with which, on the other, they have too frequently inveſted her. But as religion was not intended to terrify, ſo neither muſt it be employed to deceive mankind, by flattering us with falſe aſſurances, on the bed of death; by aſſerting, that faith alone, at our departing hour, will atone for the crimes of a miſſpent life; and, by thus teaching us to rely upon the mercy, encourage us to defy the juſtice of our judge.

How widely different is the religion of the

the goſpel; and how ſtrong a preſumption does it afford us of its truth, that, inſtead of thus founding her dominion on the fears and follies of her votaries, ſhe always appeals to the light of reaſon, and to her peaceful triumphs over the vices of an oppoſing world.

The religion of the goſpel was indulged us as the ſweet conſoler of our cares. The ſpectre of ſuperſtition, which looks down with horrid aſpect on the innocent purſuits of human life; which diffuſes a damp and gloom over our minds, when engaged in the proper duties of our ſtation, and teaches us to confide in myſterious modes of faith, in empty ceremonies, and unavailing forms, is more at variance with the will of God, is more oppoſed to the happineſs of man, than the moſt daring form of infidelity itſelf.

Are then the ordinances of the moſt high, which direct us to reverence his ſanctuaries, and to comply with thoſe forms and ceremonies, which decency and good order ſhall require, of no avail? Is the ſacred character of the prieſt ſo lightly to be eſteemed? and, are the offices of religion performed by him utterly contemptible in our eyes? I anſwer; yes,

yes, they are altogether lighter than vanity itſelf, unleſs they produce the fruits of piety and virtue in the heart. Are you ſtruck with the boldneſs of this reply? remember, it is not mine—the queſtion has been long determined by an authority which you cannot diſpute: "To what purpoſe is the multitude of your ſacrifices to me? ſaith the lord; bring no more vain oblations; incenſe is an abomination unto me; the new moons, and ſabbaths, the calling of aſſemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the ſolemn meeting: your new moons, and your appointed feaſts my ſoul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them."*

The ſolemn exerciſes of religion, the external forms of devotion, the rites and ceremonies of various nations, have all a tendency to raiſe, to revive, to confirm the perſuaſion of an almighty providence, the ſenſe of human weakneſs, and the neceſſity and eſſential excellence of virtue; and, when they are employed to ſuch purpoſes, they indeed are uſeful. The imperfection of our frame is ſuch, that perhaps it may be neceſſary

* Iſaiah i. 11—14.

ceſſary for the imagination to be affected, before the underſtanding and the diſpoſition can be improved. But, if they be relied on, as poſſeſſing in themſelves intrinſic merit, they are nothing worth; the obſervance of them gives us no title to the rewards of heaven. While, on the other hand, there is no little danger leſt the pride and ſelf-ſufficiency which they frequently inſpire, ſhould carry the ignorant, and deluded worſhipper, ſtill further from the knowledge and the acceptance of his God.

Religious rites and ceremonies are but the ſteps to piety and virtue. And are of no avail, if they lead not to ſuch actions, as alone can demonſtrate our conformity to the will of heaven. The generality of mankind have indeed, too frequently, confounded them with each other, they have even preferred them to the performance of the weightier matters of the law: not unlike to thoſe who paid the tithe of mint, of aniſe, and of cummin; while they omitted the weightier matters of the law, juſtice, mercy, and faith :* who, with ſuperſtitious reverence

* Matt. xxiii 23.

rence built the tombs of the prophets,* whom their fathers ſlew; while they perſecuted and oppreſſed thoſe greater than the prophets, whom the almighty had ſent in mercy to themſelves.

Religious rites and ceremonies are only the ſhadows of piety and virtue: it is our duty to purſue the ſubſtances themſelves. Feign to yourſelves the character of a man moſt ſtrict in his obſervance of outward forms, and, at the ſame time, a ſtranger to the real power of virtue. He is regular and attentive at the hour of prayer; but he is deficient in that integrity and purity of manners, which alone can render prayer acceptable to God: he is fearfully obſervant of every form and ordinance which ſuperſtition hath invented, and cuſtom, that ſteady guardian of every abſurdity, hath eſtabliſhed: but he is neglectful of his duty to his neighbour; he is unjuſt in his dealings, and uncharitable in all his commerce with his brethren. Will rites and ceremonies be of any avail, in ſuch a caſe as this? They ſhall indeed be remembered; but remembered to his confuſion: they ſhall ſeverely aggravate

* Matt. xxiii. 29.

aggravate his future condemnation. Another ſhall, with low proſtration, grovel at God's altar; while he diſdainfully tramples on his fellow creature, who is formed in God's likeneſs. He ſhall build a temple to his maker's praiſe; while the heart of the widow and the orphan, who frequent it, ſhall inly mourn becauſe of his oppreſſion: the prieſt, at his departing hour, ſhall aſſure him that his alms and his prayers are aſcended as a memorial in the ſight of the almighty; while the cry of the labourer, who hath reaped his fields, without receiving a reward, hath pierced the ears of the God of harveſts. Shall this man be bleſſed in his deed? Shall the judgment of the creature prevail, in defiance of thoſe laws of righteouſneſs which invariably annex the enjoyment of happineſs to the practice of piety and virtue? Moſt aſſuredly not. The almighty ſhall ariſe in his diſpleaſure; the tremendous majeſty of heaven ſhall reverſe the iniquitous decree; ſhall conſign the violator of the laws of juſtice and humanity to ſwift deſtruction. Still more fearful ſhall be the doom of him, who taught him to place external forms and ceremonies upon the ſame foundation

dation with ſubſtantial acts of juſtice and benevolence.

A breaſt, repleniſhed with the ſenſe of the greatneſs of the creator, and of the weakneſs of the creature; a mind, diſpoſed to acknowledge God, as the author of every bleſſing we enjoy, and ready to repay the only tribute in our power, the tribute of gratitude and love; an heart which glows at the proſpect of a neighbour's happineſs, and is ever labouring to diminiſh the weight of human woe, is the nobleſt temple that can be erected to our maker's praiſe. The virtues exemplified in the various ſcenes of ſocial life, are its moſt beautiful ornaments: where theſe are found, the piety of peaſants, aſſembled in their humble dwellings, is more pleaſing to the lord of heaven, than the moſt pompous pageantry of prieſts and kings: theſe ſhall avail, ſhall draw down bleſſings from the throne of the moſt high, ſhall bring them upon our children and our childrens children; while the vain and oſtentatious worſhip of the proud, the unfeeling, and the unjuſt; ſo far from atoning for their guilt, ſhall ſwell the meaſure of the almighty's vengeance.

Yet,

Yet, let us be careful that we fall not into an error, which, though not ſo pernicious as that which I have hitherto been deſcribing, is frequently productive of very fatal conſequences. It has been aſſerted, and, I truſt, with truth, that external forms and ceremonies, if not attended with the affections of the heart; that the outward profeſſion of religion, if not accompanied with its vital powers, are a vain and empty ſhow. But let us not conclude from hence, that they may ſafely be neglected. If theſe affections of the mind could readily be attained without the forms and ceremonies of religion, ſuch form and ceremonies would indeed be uſeleſs. But the contrary is true. The devotion of the heart will languiſh, unleſs it be continually refreſhed and enlivened by joining in ſolemn acts of public worſhip. And, as words and ſigns are neceſſary to convey our thoughts to each other, ſo, in this imperfect ſtate, they are abſolutely required, whenever we would raiſe our hearts to the firſt and beſt of beings, the ſuſtainer of our bliſs, the ſource and fountain of our joy. Do we not find that abſenting ourſelves from the ſtated places of God's

God's ſervice is apt to diminiſh our ſenſe of his immediate preſence, and to prevent us from enjoying that ſecurity from vice, that complacency in virtue, which ariſes from the acknowledgment of him in all our thoughts and actions? Nor are theſe habitual practices leſs intereſting to others than to ourſelves: when we abſtain for any length of time from thoſe hallowed courts, where, laying aſide the diſtinctions which make us ſo to differ from our brethren, we approach the majeſty of heaven as weak, dependent creatures; we are apt to forget thoſe ties of humanity which cauſe us to feel the miſeries of others, which animate our endeavours to relieve them. A careleſſneſs and indifference to our immortal intereſts is a too probable conſequence of ſuch neglect. Piety and virtue themſelves are in danger of expiring, unleſs rekindled by that flame which burns upon the altar of God; unleſs revived by the breath of mortals uniting with us in ardent, ſolemn, ſacred ſupplication to the throne of heaven.

The true, the conſcientious chriſtian, will, therefore, conduct himſelf with a careful en-

deavour to avoid ſuch errors in his practice: he will regard, with due attention, the ſolemn exerciſes of public worſhip, becauſe he knows that the inward purity of his heart is improved by them; but he will guard againſt all undue reliance upon ſuch ſervices: he will conſider them as helps to virtue, and not as conſtituting the real eſſence of devotion: he knows that, as he is ſent into this world by the God of reaſon and of nature to fulfil his pleaſure, his real ſervice muſt conſiſt in the imitation of his creator's bounty, and the intire reſignation of his will to the will of the ſupreme: he is ſenſible how much mankind are influenced by what ſtrikes the imagination and the ſenſes; and will therefore cultivate in himſelf, and endeavour to promote in others, a manly piety, an unbounded benevolence, by all thoſe outward aſſiſtances which religious forms, well purged from ſuperſtition, will naturally afford him: at the ſame time, he will be careful to diſtinguiſh between the outward profeſſion, and the real practice of religion: he will conſider the miniſters of the goſpel,

as

as inveſted with no greater ſanctity than what their unblemiſhed lives and converſations throw around them: he will not rely upon the rites and ordinances, adminiſtered by their hands, for mercy from his maker; but will place his hope in thoſe "fruits of righteouſneſs, which are by Jeſus Chriſt, unto the glory and praiſe of God."* He will not regard the depoſiting of his body in conſecrated ground, as any protection from the avenging ſentence; but will look up to the mercy of a judge, himſelf acquainted with the weakneſſes of humanity, who hath declared that "with what meaſure men mete, it ſhall be meaſured to them again."† He will refrain from every criminal action, through a juſt apprehenſion of the vengeance of a God of righteouſneſs; nor vainly hope to atone for the commiſſion of grievous crimes, by the performance of empty rites, and unſubſtantial ceremonies. With all his caution, he may yet offend with Saul; but he will ſay with Samuel, "hath the lord as

* Philip. i. 11. † Matt. vii. 2.

great delight in burnt ſacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the lord? behold! to obey is better than ſacrifice; and to hearken, than the fat of rams."

In this obedience, therefore, to the laws of God and man, O chriſtian! moſt firmly perſevere. Thy name ſhall be remembered upon earth, thy reward ſhall be great in heaven. While perpetual fears ſhall haunt the guilty breaſt; while innumerable horrors ſhall affright the ſuperſtitious worſhipper; inbred peace, the fruit of virtuous conduct, ſhall ſurround thy dwelling; and calm devotion, ſpread ſweet tranquillity over every ſcene of life. Thy deeds of juſtice, thy labours of love, ſhall engage the regard and friendſhip of man; and thy habits of true religion ſhall enſure the approbation of thy God. In the vale of death, thou ſhalt look up with tranſport to that unfading crown of glory, now ready to reward thy toils: the evils of life, like the ſtars of heaven, have their appointed courſe; they ſhall ſet like them—they ſhall riſe no more: an eternal day of happineſs ſhall ſucceed the night of human pain and woe.

woe. If thou haſt fought the good fight of perſevering virtue; if thus thou haſt kept the faith; retire in peace: the gloom and darkneſs of the grave ſhall quickly paſs, and thou ſhalt riſe to an immortal life, to the poſſeſſion of endleſs joy.

Now to the one, almighty, everlaſting God, be aſcribed all might, majeſty, and dominion for ever and ever! Amen!

V.

ACTS X. 34, 35.

"THEN PETER OPENED HIS MOUTH, AND SAID: OF A TRUTH I PERCEIVE THAT GOD IS NO RESPECTER OF PERSONS; BUT, IN EVERY NATION, HE THAT FEARETH HIM, AND WORKETH RIGHTEOUSNESS, IS ACCEPTED WITH HIM."

THE primary meaning of theſe words will be beſt underſtood, if we attend a little to the general circumſtances, under which the goſpel was at firſt promulgated; and the peculiar impreſſions, with which the mind of the ſpeaker had been recently affected.

We are to reflect, then, that there had long prevailed among the jews a general opinion, that the kingdom of the expected meſſiah was to be intirely of a temporal nature; that, inveſted with the enſigns of royal dignity, he was not only to deliver them from that ſtate of bondage under which they groaned; but alſo to raiſe them to a degree of grandeur, far ſuperior to whatever they had enjoyed, in the moſt flouriſhing period of power: and, although the diſciples of

Jeſus, after the reſurrection and aſcenſion of their divine inſtructor, became, at length, juſtly ſenſible, that the bleſſings of the meſſiah's reign were purely ſpiritual; yet ſo much of their former prejudice remained, as to induce them to believe, that the deſcendants of Abraham had an excluſive title to the glorious privileges of the goſpel-diſpenſation. And hiſtory aſſures us, that this prejudice was not eaſily removed. For, notwithſtanding the information derived from the miraculous effuſion of the holy ſpirit on the day of pentecoſt, a particular revelation was afforded to Peter, before he was convinced, that "God, in truth, was no reſpecter of perſons." Nor was it 'till after the ſame ſpirit had deſcended upon Cornelius, and thoſe who were with him, that the other apoſtles could be brought to own, "that unto the gentiles alſo, God had granted repentance unto life." *

An opinion, ſimilar to that which perplexed Peter, perplexes many at this day. Raiſed to the enjoyment of evangelical privileges, they vainly imagine, that, as chriſtians, they have a right to plead an appropriated title to the favour of heaven, from which,

* Acts xi 18.

which, the innumerable tribes, yet ſunk in heathen ignorance and darkneſs, are excluded; and that a compliance with the laws of the almighty, ſo far as the light of nature ſhall diſcover them, is totally inſufficient to recommend them to his acceptance. But the ſame method of reaſoning which might have led Peter to acknowledge, that, in the diſpenſation of chriſtian privileges, God is no reſpecter of perſons; may inſtruct us, that no mode of faith, or religious perſuaſion whatever, will, in caſe of a virtuous beneficent practice, be able hereafter to ſeparate us from our creator's love.

I am well aware that an opinion directly contrary to this has hitherto prevailed under various eſtabliſhments; and that the articles of our own church have even pronounced thoſe "accurſed who preſume to ſay, that a man may be ſaved by the law or ſect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature:" * but as the ſame church profeſſes that "it is not lawful for her to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's written word;" † I ſhall make no ſcruple to lay before you ſuch conſiderations as have produced, in

* See Art. xviii. † See Art. xx.

in my own mind, the fulleſt conviction, that ſuch a doctrine hath no foundation either in reaſon, or ſcripture; but ought to be reprobated at once, as impious towards God, and uncharitable towards men.

It would be contrary to all ideas of juſtice, to ſuppoſe that a righteous and merciful creator expects that from his creatures, which they are utterly unable to perform. Many of God's creatures have nothing to direct them, except the light of nature;* except the maxims and doctrines of their ſect. If ſuch conform their lives and converſations to this law, ſhall not they be accepted by their maker, by the father of the ſpirits of all fleſh, by that all-righteous being, whoſe tender mercies are over all his works? He would rather pardon my denial of his exiſtence, than my doubts of the juſtice, and mercy of his judgments.†

But,

* "For when the gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, theſe having not the law, are a law unto themſelves." Rom. ii. 14.

† The ſervant who had received only two talents, yet having improved them equally with the ſervant who had been entruſted with five, received the ſame commendation, and was ordered to enter into the joy of his lord. But the unprofitable ſervant, who had hidden his talent in the earth, and had dared to ſuſpect the juſtice of his lord, was ordered to be caſt into outer darkneſs. Matt. xxv. 14—30.

But, it may be aſked, has not the almighty himſelf ſhewn ſome degree of partiality in his dealings with the ſons of men? What judgment are we to form of that immenſe variety in the nature and degree of thoſe capacities and enjoyments, which diſtinguſh from each other, the innumerable creatures of his almighty hand? To what, but a partial fondneſs, are we to attribute the indulgence of thoſe ſuperior powers, which are given with ſuch profuſion, to his favourite creature, man? From what other motive ſhall we account for the different meaſures of happineſs, by which men are diſtinguiſhed from each other? Whence is it that he grants unto this happy land, that equal temperature, which bleſſes its inhabitants with the verdure of ſpring, with the fruits of autumn; while he condemns unnumbered tribes to wander through the ſultry deſart, through the polar ſnows? Whence is it that he commands whole nations to bow beneath the yoke of ſtern oppreſſion, that he withholds from them the means of extracting the "iron which enters into their ſouls;" while he bleſſes us with the enjoyment of liberty, his nobleſt gift,

together

together with that high-born ſpirit, and impatience of control, which conſtitutes our beſt ſecurity againſt the encroachments of deſpotic power? To what, but a partial fondneſs, are we to impute that meaſure of his adminiſtration, which ordains that half his habitable earth ſhall lie in heathen ignorance and darkneſs; that the baneful form of ſuperſtition ſhall erect her gloomy ſtandard in almoſt every region of the globe; while we enjoy, or certainly have the power of enjoying, the meridian ſplendors of the goſpel light.

Theſe are objections of a ſerious nature; theſe deſerve an anſwer. We will, therefore, attempt, with the aſſiſtance of reaſon, and the goſpel, to vindicate the ways of God to man.

It has frequently and juſtly been obſerved, that the ſum of happineſs is greater, if imperfect creatures be claſſed in various ranks and orders, with various powers and capacities of improvement, than if there were only one claſs, poſſeſſed of an abſolute equality of endowments. If then this variety conduce to more extenſive happineſs in the natural ſtate, the analogy may apply to our

preſent

preſent inquiry, not ſo much concerning the natural, as religious privileges of man: and the reaſon of the different diſpenſations in both, may be ſatisfactorily inferred from the ſame principle of diverſified beneficence in the ſupreme diſpoſer of all good.

But, in what reſpect are religious privileges different from natural goods? The advantages which we enjoy in preference to our heathen neighbours, conſiſt only in ſuperior knowledge of our duty, and the ſuperior weight of thoſe motives which ſhould induce us to perform it. The wiſe man, by the ſtrength of his natural endowments, becomes ſuperior to his neighbour; becauſe he is better acquainted with the probable events of things, and enjoys an habitual ſkill in chooſing the means of content and happineſs. The chriſtian hath exactly a ſimilar ſuperiority over him, who is a ſtranger to the word of truth.

The wiſe man, who has his inſtruction from unaſſiſted reaſon, is more determined in a courſe of virtue, than the illiterate herd around him; becauſe, with clearer eye, he can diſcern the preſumptive evidence of its future great reward: the believer in the goſpel

goſpel, is enabled to perſevere in the ſame paths of virtue ſtill more ſteadily, than his unenlightened neighbour; becauſe he founds his hopes, not on probabilities, but proofs; and looks with aſſured confidence, to the proſpect of an eternal crown.

Wiſdom, therefore, differs from the judgment of the generality only in degree; and a difference in degree, is the only difference between chriſtianity and wiſdom. Wiſdom is a ſublimer kind of ſkill in the œconomy of human life; and, chriſtianity is a ſublimer kind of wiſdom.

The queſtion then, "why hath the almighty made ſo great a difference in the religious circumſtances of his creatures?" is of a ſimilar nature with another queſtion, "why hath he made ſo great a difference in their natural endowments?" The anſwer is the ſame to both; becauſe it ſeemeth to him good; to him, who in manifold wiſdom hath ſo tempered this diverſity, as to be every where conſiſtent with particular, and, in an higher degree, productive of general happineſs.

Let us rejoice, therefore, that God who, in wonderful ſubordination, hath conſtituted various ranks and orders of his creatures, hath placed us at their head; hath elevated us to the powers and capacities of man. But, more let us rejoice, that he hath raiſed us above many of our fellows, by calling us to the acknowledgment of the goſpel of his ſon.

Nor let us cenſure, as partial and unjuſt, that wiſdom, which hath denied to others thoſe graces, which it hath poured down with ſuch rich profuſion upon ourſelves. Let us be thankful for our better hopes; and leave the nations, which are involved in heathen ignorance, to the ſure, though uncovenanted mercies of their God.

All this, it may be ſaid, is the language of reaſon; but is it the language of the ſcriptures?

Hear then the words of the apoſtle, "indignation and wrath; tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul of man that doeth evil; of the jew firſt, and alſo of the gentile: but glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the jew firſt, and alſo

alſo to the gentile; for there is no reſpect of perſons with God."*

But, if the almighty reſpecteth not the perſon of the jew, neither will he reſpect the perſon of the chriſtian. Thou compared with the heathen, art now in the ſame ſituation with the jew of old. Favourite of heaven! tremble at the preſent bounty of thy God. A miſtake, founded originally on uncharitableneſs and pride, has been unhappily ſupported by the political eſtabliſhments of every chriſtian country. People, obſerving that certain privileges and emoluments are granted excluſively to the profeſſors of a particular faith, in conſequence of ſuch profeſſion, are too apt to forget, that it is only in this world that ſuch diſtinctions are allowed. Piety and virtue are the only recommendations to our creator's favour: they form the ſole diſtinction, in the courts of heaven.

Ignorance, then, is not culpable where it is invincible; nor is knowledge praiſeworthy, except in proportion to the labour ſpent

* Romans ii. 8, 9. 10, 11.

ſpent in its acquirement, and the beneficent purpoſes to which it is directed.

The herds and flocks which graze upon thy paſtures, enjoy their ſhare of happineſs with calm content: they neither envy the more rational enjoyments, nor are reſponſible for the ſuperior advantages, and more ſplendid ſtation of their lord. The unenlightened indian, the object of thy proud compaſſion, may do more than this; it may be, he rejoices that he is acquainted, neither with the faith, nor the crimes of chriſtian men. And, it may be, with reaſon that he rejoices; for unleſs the tenor of thy life ſhall exactly correſpond with the degree of knowledge which heaven hath afforded thee, thy fate ſhall be worſe than his.

The knowledge of the goſpel, therefore, is like the reſt of the gifts of heaven, much to be prized, and carefully to be improved: but, if neglected, it muſt turn to our confuſion.

In the indulgence of the primary powers and capacities of man; in the advantages ariſing from our birth in a chriſtian country, we have reaſon to bleſs our creator's bounty,

in being thus furniſhed with the means of acquiring happineſs: but the actual acquiſition of it, muſt depend upon ourſelves.

The different powers and capacities beſtowed upon the different creatures of the almighty, are ſubject to no other rule than his own good pleaſure: but, with reſpect to his judgments, the caſe is widely different. Reward and puniſhment imply previous merit and demerit; they imply a nice attention to the circumſtances and ſituation of the object, to the degree of knowledge, the violence of the temptation, and to innumerable other particulars, which, though they eſcape the notice of an earthly tribunal, are minutely recorded in the book of heaven. Scripture, holy ſcripture, always conſiſtent with right reaſon and itſelf, repreſents all nations and kindreds of men as ſtanding before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt. Every plea, which can be urged in alleviation of a departure from the rules of righteouſneſs, will there be admitted; and, every circumſtance, which has aggravated the guilt of the offender, will aggravate his condemnation. How much ſoever, therefore, the courſe of

juſtice

juſtice upon earth may be oppoſed by violence, or corrupted by deceit, in heaven it flows with an uninterrupted and unſullied ſtream; and happineſs will ever be the fruit of true deſert.

Know then all thou canſt, but forget not to practiſe according as thou knoweſt; for, in proportion to the improvement of thy powers and capacities of action, ſhall be the future mercies of thy omniſcient judge.

The name of chriſtian is honourable; honourable alſo is the name of man; improve thy natural abilities; improve thy chriſtian privileges; and great and happy ſhall be thy lot. Thou now art elevated above the beaſts that periſh; thou ſhalt riſe in glory to the condition of angels, which incircle the throne of the ever bleſſed God.

But, will the ſame virtues which are required of the chriſtian, be accepted alſo with equal complacency from the jew, the turk, the heathen, the infidel? Abundant reaſon have we to conclude ſo from this ſingle conſideration, that in every inſtance of divine communication, under every period of the

divine œconomy, ſuch virtues are invariably and emphatically injoined.

For " what doth the lord require of thee?" ſaith the prophet Micah.* " What doth the lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

It is the advice of Solomon, to " fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man."† It is the aſſertion of one greater than Solomon: for " when a certain lawyer ſtood up, and tempted Jeſus, ſaying, Maſter, what ſhall I do to inherit eternal life? he ſaid unto him, what is written in the law? how readeſt thou? And he, anſwering, ſaid, thou ſhalt love the lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour, as thyſelf. And he ſaid unto him, thou haſt anſwered right: this do, and thou ſhall live.‡ And, by a practice conformable to this deciſion, he approved himſelf the ſaviour of the world.

Loſt

* Micah vi. 8. † Eccles xii. 13.
‡ Luke x. 25, 26, 27, 28.

Loſt in perpetual uncertainties and doubts, diſtracted with the various purſuits of an happineſs, which cannot be obtained in theſe tranſitory ſcenes, the ſons of men long wandered comfortleſs, and deſponding, in the night of error; ſeduced by each alluring form of vice and immorality; a prey to melancholy and deſpair: but, when the ſun of righteouſneſs aroſe, the darkneſs of ignorance every where retired before its invigorating ray. Man, inſtructed by the ſacred leſſons of celeſtial wiſdom, engaged with induſtry and ardour in the purſuit of virtue; and the aſſurance afforded in the goſpel, that the almighty being, who firſt created us, and breathed into us the breath of life, will re-animate each nobler faculty of the ſoul, though ſlumbering in the duſt, gave a ſtrength and efficacy to the exhortations of his beloved ſon, which demonſtrated his title to the character of the ſaviour and redeemer of mankind.

Upon ſuch authorities, then, I will venture to pronounce it to be an immutable,

and eternal truth, that virtue, under every diſpenſation, hath the promiſe of our creator's favour.

It hath been uſual, indeed, to declaim much upon the effects which the fall of Adam hath had upon the reaſon of our ſpecies. But, if we are to believe that man "has no power to do good works, pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God, by Chriſt, preventing us," * to what purpoſe have they been required under diſpenſations ſo long antecedent to Chriſt's coming; and why are they ſtill required of thoſe to whom the laws of his goſpel have not yet been publiſhed? † if "man be of his own nature inclined to evil, ſo that the fleſh luſteth always contrary to the ſpirit," ‡ one of the ſtrongeſt inducements to a courſe of virtue; an inducement, which ariſes from the pleaſure, the joy, the tranſport of an approving conſcience, is intirely deſtroyed. For conſcience is a word without a meaning, unleſs we are perſuaded, that what is approved

* Article x. † Rom. ii. 6—16.
‡ Article ix.

approved by our reaſon, will be accepted by our God.

The man, therefore, who, in all the relations and circumſtances of life, labours to perform a juſt and honourable part; who is punctual in all his dealings, placable to his adverſaries, and beneficent to the extent of his capacity and power; who humbles himſelf in the ſight of his heavenly father; who looks up to him for aſſiſtance, in every difficulty and diſtreſs; and ſtudies to tranſfer into his heart the benevolent and operative principles of the goſpel, will infallibly be accepted by him, whatever be the number, or the nature of the doctrines, which he profeſſes in his creed. Although differing from all mankind with reſpect to points called fundamentals in religion; although excluded from the community of every church upon the habitable globe, he will be a church to himſelf; and, if ever zealous to improve in the practice of each divine and ſocial duty, he will riſe to the poſſeſſion of the moſt perfect happineſs which human nature is capable of receiving, from

the unbounded benignity of the univerſal parent.

It is the plaſtic hand of that univerſal parent which hath worked into our conſtitution the fineſt feelings of humanity. Let us obey their influence in every act of life; the errors of our judgment ſhall paſs unnoticed before his high tribunal. Veneration for that mighty being, whoſe creative word firſt formed us from the duſt of earth, whoſe providential arm ſupports our ſteps, is certainly the firſt and greateſt of all human duties, as it is one of the firſt emotions which affect the mind of a rational and dependent creature.

The affections of a father, brother, friend, are affections of our common nature. They are not the growth of any particular ſoil or climate, more kindly than the reſt. The God who ſowed theſe ſeeds of virtue in our breaſts, ſhall, therefore, bleſs the increaſe, under whatever profeſſion of faith it may have been matured.

If there be a religion upon earth which God deteſts, it muſt be the religion from which we profeſs to have reformed: becauſe

cauſe it is a religion founded upon inhumanity, and erected in oppoſition to the common rights of men.

The religion which God requireth of all, is a religion at once ſimple, and pure: it ſpeaketh an " uniform language unto all nations. It is intelligible to every ſenſible being. It is not ſurrounded by ſhadows and myſteries; it is clear, it is engraved on every heart, in indelible characters. Its decrees are ſecure from the revolutions of empire, the injuries of time, and the caprice of cuſtom. Every virtuous man is its prieſt; errors and vices are its victims; the univerſe its altar; and God the only divinity it adores. Morality is the ſum and ſubſtance of this religion. When we are rational, we are pious; when we are uſeful, we are virtuous; when we are benevolent, we are righteous and juſt."

Learn, therefore, to conſider acts of piety, humanity, and juſtice, as of the higheſt conſequence to thy well-being; they are acts approved both by God and man; they conſtitute the dignity, the ornament of thy nature; they are the genuine fruits of a lively faith in the promiſes of the goſpel:

but

but, wherever found, their memorial ſhall never be forgotten.

If a ſuperior knowledge of thy duty; if a clearer proſpect of thy great reward; if the bright example of thy ſaviour, be in thee productive of a purer life, rejoice in the name of chriſtian; thou haſt reaſon for thy joy. But, let the words of the apoſtle alſo be imprinted on thy mind; let them animate thee to every uſeful virtue, at the ſame time that they confound thy pride: "God is no reſpecter of perſons; but, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him."

Now to the one, almighty, everlaſting God, be aſcribed all might, power, majeſty, and dominion, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord!

VI.

VI.

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1772.

ACTS XV. 10.

"NOW, THEREFORE, WHY TEMPT YE GOD, TO PUT A YOKE UPON THE NECKS OF THE DISCIPLES, WHICH NEITHER OUR FATHERS NOR WE WERE ABLE TO BEAR?"*

It hath frequently been obſerved, with reſpect to civil laws, that ſuch as are enacted in oppoſition to the prevaling diſpoſition, ſentiments, and manners of a people, inſtead

[* The editor is aware, that by much the greater part of the following ſermon will be found in the fourth, eighth, and fourteenth numbers of "Every man his own prieſt," re-printed in the third volume of the preſent work. But it is conceived, that the argument is more connected, and, conſequently, more forcibly ſtated in the ſermon, than in the detached papers above referred

ſtead of operating according to the deſign of the legiſlator, are themſelves more likely to give way to the impulſe of thoſe paſſions which they were intended to reſtrain.

This obſervation ſtrikes us with double force, when we conſider the ſpirit of thoſe religious inſtitutions, which, eſtabliſhed on the ruins of right reaſon, oppoſe themſelves at the ſame time to every privilege of nature, and ſociety; and inculcate a practice, repugnant to the beſt emotions of the human mind.

But thoſe inſtitutions, whether of a civil, or

ferred to. This circumſtance, added to the remembrance of the converſation it occaſioned in the univerſity of Cambridge, at the time it was preached, ſeemed to require its publication in its original form. Notwithſtanding which, the editor did not think himſelf at liberty to cancel thoſe papers, in which ſo much of it was afterwards given to the public, as ſuch omiſſion would have interfered in the regular ſeries of their publication. And, beſides, from this very fact, he is enabled to prove, what from his own obſervation he knows to be true, that the eſſays which our author ſo frequently ſent to the public prints of this time, with whatever facility and promptitude they were compoſed, were in their matter, the reſult of reflection and ſtudy.

Something ſimilar might have been obſerved of part of the ſecond ſermon, but the occaſion did not appear to require particular notice.]

or religious nature, which breathe a ſpirit friendly to the intereſts of ſociety, to the intereſt of man; which inculcate principles ſweetly reſponſive to the voice of reaſon, and harmoniouſly conſenting with the ſocial movements of the ſoul, we accept with willing hearts, and bow without reluctance to their juſt and generous ſway.

Reſiſtleſs, therefore, may we reaſonably expect, will be the progreſs of the religion of the goſpel in that day, when every impediment ſhall be removed, which at preſent obſtructs our view, and conceals from our inquiry the proper value of her precepts, and the ſupreme authority of her commands. More reſplendent in her own native purity, than in the falſe, factitious luſtre of human decorations, ſhe then ſhall widely diffuſe her calm and ſteady light: the ſhades of ignorance and vice ſhall be diſpelled: and every form and phantom, which ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm have called up, ſhall gradually retire from the majeſty of her preſence, or be at once extinguiſhed in the effulgence of her everlaſting glory.

A firm belief in the truths of chriſtianity,

as exhibited in the ſcriptures, leads, by a natural and eaſy progreſs, to juſt and honourable principles, to a juſt and honourable practice; and, particularly conduces to the generation and ſupport of that noble independency of ſpirit, on which each great and truly patriotic virtue reſts, liable indeed to be aſſailed by the winds and waves, but like the houſe upon a rock, to be aſſailed in vain.

The reſtoration, therefore, of the word of God to that ſupremacy, which it ſo juſtly claims above the precarious traditions of fallible men, mediately tends to the production of each public virtue, and the laſting eſtabliſhment of thoſe conſtitutional privileges, which, as engliſhmen, it is our duty to revere.

But, however intimate the connexion may appear, between religious knowledge and the public welfare; it has been frequently inſinuated, and ſometimes openly aſſerted, that the abolition of ſubſcription to ſyſtematical confeſſions of faith and doctrine, is a meaſure, which, were it adopted by the ruling powers, would immediately lead to the annihilation of all religious principle

in

in the people, and probably end in the ſubverſion of the ſtate itſelf.*

On the contrary, it has been maintained, by authorities no leſs reſpectable, † that the ſubſtitution of a general ſubſcription to the truth of chriſtianity, as contained in the ſcriptures, in the place of a ſubſcription to thoſe antiquated formularies, which are now almoſt univerſally ſuppoſed to hold forth a falſe repreſentation of the goſpel, would, by unfettering the minds of men, lead to a more accurate inveſtigation, and more practical knowledge of the ſaving words of truth; and thus add to the ſtability of kingdoms, and the happineſs of the individuals who compoſe them.

A repugnance, ſo irreconcilable between two concluſions, cannot but be referred to ſome repugnance, no leſs irreconcilable, between the premiſes from which they are deduced; and yet, in a controverſy which has ſo long agitated the paſſions of men, one might have imagined, that firſt principles at leaſt, were ſettled, and the merits of the queſtion

* See "A charge delivered in the year 1772, by Thomas Balguy, D.D."

† See "The confeſſional," &c;

tion, by this time, left to be decided by ſound argument, and liberal diſcuſſion. But, unhappily, this is not the fact. We ſtill continue to lay down poſitions, as prejudice or party dictates; and are too apt to ſupport them by a zeal and perſeverance, defenſible only in thoſe caſes, in which we are conſcious of having given to the world, unqueſtionable proofs of accuracy of inveſtigation, and ſobriety of judgment.

Since, however, in conſequence of theſe diſcuſſions, the attention of the public is at length called to the queſtion concerning the propriety of requiring ſubſcription to human articles of faith and doctrine in proteſtant churches;* it will not, I truſt, be thought either an unſeaſonable, or an unintereſting ſubject for our preſent inquiry, if, with a view of throwing light upon thoſe principles, on which the merits of this important controverſy reſt, we endeavour,

In the firſt place, to explain the intrinſic nature and unalienable privileges of a chriſtian church.

And,

* By the petition to the legiſlature for the abolition of ſubſcription.

And, then, proceed to the conſideration of thoſe rights and privileges of chriſtian people, in the caſe of churches eſtabliſhed by law.

A chriſtian church, in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech, ſuggeſts to us no other idea than that of an aſſembly of perſons met together in the name of Chriſt, with an avowed intent of worſhipping the God and father of mankind.* It may eaſily be collected, from the hiſtory of the planting of the goſpel, that chriſtian churches, at their firſt formation, were ſocieties merely voluntary. And it is no leſs certain, that, whatever deference was then paid to the primary founders of ſuch churches, in matters of diſcipline and worſhip, ſimilar ſocieties muſt now ſubſiſt by the aid of laws and regulations, derived from no other authority than the conſent of the members who compoſe them.

As a right is, undoubtedly, veſted in the majority

[* "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus, called to be ſaints, with all that in every place, are called by the name of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, both theirs and ours. 1 Cor. i. 2. See Lindſey's "Two Diſſertations," p. p. 94—97. See alſo Rom. xvi. 5. and Coloſ. iv. 15. where ſingle families, aſſembled for the purpoſe of religious worſhip, are conſidered as churches, &c. &c.]

majority of ſuch ſociety to expel thoſe perſons, whoſe conduct is not regulated by an attention to its laws; ſo a reciprocal right is evidently reſerved, to every ſingle member, to withdraw himſelf whenever it ſhall appear expedient; and this without the ſubtraction or diminution of any privilege, dignity, or emolument, to which he may be entitled as a ſubject of the civil power.

A ſociety, thus conſtituted, may decree whatever rites and ceremonies it ſhall judge conducive to the edification of its members in faith and love; but cannot, conſiſtently with the allegiance every member is under to his ſpiritual ſovereign, ſubmit to the introduction of any human formulary of faith and doctrine whatſoever, as the teſt of ſound and orthodox belief. And this, becauſe, as chriſtians, we acknowledge the rule of faith, and the rule of life to have been fully and circumſtantially revealed by our divine inſtructor; and to be now, with all faithfulneſs and perſpicuity, declared to us in the writings of ſuch of his followers, as were immediately delegated by himſelf, to convert mankind to an obedience to his laws.

Chriſtian

Chriſtian churches may, unqueſtionably, be diſtinguiſhed from each other by varieties in their form of worſhip, modes of diſcipline, or internal polity. The church of Corinth may adopt rites and ceremonies, which the church of Epheſus doth not approve. But, a diverſity of doctrine, even in matters which have frequently been eſteemed fundamental, can never be demonſtrated to conſtitute, either in whole, or in part, a proper ground or reaſon for this diſtinction. Every individual in each of theſe ſocieties, however differing in ſentiment from his brethren, with reſpect to any point of faith expreſſed in humanly-deviſed forms of ſpeech, has a right to continue in communion with all the members of his own particular church;* may be equally a member of Chriſt's catholic church; and, if found obedient to the moral precepts of the goſpel, will, hereafter, be equally entitled to his ſaviour's approbation, and the favourable acceptance of his God.

* As long as he conforms to their rules and ceremonies, he certainly has a right to continue, as well as a liberty of departing. His conſcience muſt determine when the ſociety becomes too corrupt, or contrary to what he thinks the truth.

The members of this ſociety may alſo ſet apart whatever portion of their private patrimony they ſhall think expedient, for the purpoſe of engaging perſons to officiate in its religious worſhip. And it is obvious, that ſuch ſervice may, at the diſcretion of the ſociety, be conducted either in the mode of extemporary prayer, or according to a pre-conceived form.

It may alſo appear expedient, in ſuch a congregation, to allow an additional proviſion for the appointment of a perſon, whoſe office it ſhall be, to explain the meaning, and to recommend the practice of God's written word, according to the beſt of his capacity and power.

But, for ſuch a ſociety to require, from its teacher, a ſubſcribed declaration of his belief in any formulary of man's device, would be both impious and unwiſe. It would be impious, inaſmuch as it would be ſubſtituting the precarious opinions of fallible men, in the place of that word, which God revealed.* It would be unwiſe, inaſmuch

* It may be ſaid, that the magiſtrate may plead conſcience. It is my purpoſe only to ſhow, from principles of reaſon and the authority of ſcripture that, that conſcience

much as it would reſtrain the powers of the preacher in the execution of his duty; and deprive him of the opportunity of affording to his conſtituents that information and inſtruction, which were the chief reaſons of his appointment to his uſeful and important truſt. The chriſtian and proteſtant engagement in the ordination of prieſts, may be oppoſed to the contrary ſubſcription to the thirty-ſixth canon; although both of them are made at the ſame time, and as a neceſſary qualification to the ſame office: in ſuch a caſe, the miniſter would ſign, with one hand, an obligation to ſtudy the revealed written word of God, and to unfold to his congregation every important doctrine, every ſubſtantial duty, which, in his own apprehenſion, it contains; and, with the other, he would execute a bond, whereby he engages to abide by the interpretation of others; and

ſcience will be an erroneous one; and, in fact, to be vindicated only upon the idea, that God will pardon impiety and idolatry, when acts of each proceed from an invincible ignorance. God, who knoweth the heart, knoweth when to pardon, and when to condemn, but it is our duty to explore, and to declare, that which appears to be juſt and right.

to teach his congregation nothing, but what they underſtood, or ſuppoſed they underſtood, before they ſolicited his aſſiſtance or advice.

Before I enter upon my ſecond inquiry into the rights and privileges reſerved to chriſtian people, in the caſe of churches eſtabliſhed by law, I muſt obſerve, that all religious aſſemblies whatſoever, whether congregated in the name of Moſes, the name of Jeſus, or the name of Mahomet, have an equal claim to be protected by the ſtate. The right of worſhipping our creator, in that form and manner which we ourſelves approve, is a right with which we were inveſted, previouſly to the formation of the ſocial compact:* upon our entrance into ſociety, we cannot, without impiety, reſign it. A ſtronger bond than that of loyalty to a temporal monarch ſhould reſtrain us. We already are ſubjects of another ſovereign; and therefore cannot, for a moment, be conſenting to an alienation of our

* "I have long looked on liberty of conſcience as one of the rights of human nature antecedent to ſociety." Burnet in his "Hiſt. of his own Times," vol. ii. 364. fol. edit.

our ſervice, conſiſtently with our allegiance to the king of kings.

I reſign, indeed, to the magiſtrate the power of avenging thoſe temporal wrongs which I ſuffer from men of like paſſions with myſelf: my civil liberty, in fact, depends upon that unreſerved ſubmiſſion, which I owe, in common with my fellow ſubjects, to thoſe equal laws, which, without reſpect of perſons, guard my property, my reputation, and my life. But, when I turn my views to future happineſs, I look not to the perſon of the magiſtrate for information; he is a weak, frail, ignorant, erring mortal, like myſelf: I direct my ardent, ſolemn ſupplications to the tremendous majeſty of heaven, and humbly confide in that word, which the almighty hath been pleaſed, in mercy, to reveal: I ſearch with my own eyes, and my own underſtanding, in earneſt ſolicitude, for that truth, in the diſcovery of which, I am ſo immediately and ſo deeply concerned. And, as the power of the greateſt monarch upon earth cannot poſſibly deliver me from the dominion of the grave, I will, in religious

matters, bow to him alone, who is lord of life and death.

But this original and unalienable right of every individual in ſociety to chuſe his form of worſhip, precludes not the public inſtitution of religious eſtabliſhments: the intrinſic nature, and contingent circumſtances of which, I ſhall now conſider.

The formation of a religious eſtabliſhment in any nation, is ſubſequent to the formation of the ſocial compact, and owes its exiſtence, ſolely to an act of the legiſlative power.

It conſiſts, in the appropriation of a part of the public treaſure, to the purpoſe of defraying the expenſes of the public worſhip.*

The form of prayer, the rights and ordinances which are connected with it, the manner of creating the various orders of miniſters who officiate in the ſervice, together with the juſt extent of the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, muſt alſo be ſettled and defined, at the diſcretion of the ſtate.†

But,

* The minority ſhould not be obliged to pay for doctrines, not uſeful to the ſtate.

† In order to prevent miſtakes, I would be underſtood to mean, that this eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, as ſettled and defined by the ſtate, ſhould confine itſelf intirely

But, the form of public worſhip, eſtabliſhed by this authority, ought to reſt upon the broadeſt baſis. Inſomuch, that ſhould there be a country in which jews, mahometans, and chriſtians are united under the ſame civil government, without any great inequality of numbers, the form of worſhip publicly endowed, ſhould, if poſſible, be framed in ſuch a manner as to comprehend them all;† and, at the ſame time, the power of reviſing and correcting ſuch eſtabliſhment, according to the improving judgment of the

tirely to the regulation of the deportment of the eſtabliſhed clergy. The coercive juriſdiction of the magiſtrate in religious matters, reaches not to the lay-members, even of his own communion; much leſs to thoſe, who diſſent from the eſtabliſhed form of public worſhip. With reſpect to ſecurity from interruption in our religious exerciſes, all ſocieties have the ſame claim to protection, with thoſe which are eſtabliſhed by law.

† The idea is not ſo impracticable, as may at firſt be thought. Jews, chriſtians, mahometans, &c. united under the ſame government, and the ſame laws, receive national bleſſings: why ſhould they not unite in returning national praiſe, and national thankſgiving? Securing to them, however, the right of ſeparate congregations, if they are deſirous of making their acknowledgements for any other than national concerns.

the nation, ſhould not be foreclofed by ſanguinary and oppreſſive laws. A legal and unlimited permiſſion, ſhould be granted to the profeſſors of each particular religion, to worſhip the almighty in that form and manner, which is more peculiarly pleaſing to themſelves, reſerving for this purpoſe a proportional part of the public fund appropriated to the religious ſervice of the nation.

In a country, wherein the inhabitants altogether, or, for the moſt part, profeſs themſelves believers in the goſpel, the mode of public worſhip ſhould have reſpect to that revelation, which is contained in the goſpel; but ſhould not admit, into its eſtabliſhed forms, expreſſions, obviouſly excluſive of particular ſects, profeſſing obedience to the ſame common maſter.

The eſſence of the religious eſtabliſhment conſiſting, then, in a preſcribed mode of public worſhip; and, in an appointment out of the public treaſure, for the proviſion of a ſet of miniſters to officiate therein, it appears highly injurious to exclude any perſon, who publicly diſſents from this eſtabliſhment, from

from places of ſecular dignity and truſt.* He acquieſces in the tax impoſed by the voice of the majority, for the ſupport of the religious ſervice of the nation, and retains, therefore, an unqueſtionable right, not only of worſhipping God agreeably to his own particular perſuaſion; but, alſo, of riſing to the poſſeſſion of every temporal advantage, to which his acknowledged merit, or the favour of his fellow citizens, can exalt him.

But, although this eſtabliſhment is always to be conſidered, as in ſtrict ſubordination to the legiſlative power of the kingdom; yet there are ſome particular ſubjects, concerning which, it becomes legiſlature itſelf to obſerve a profound and awful ſilence.

A

* The oath of allegiance, though taken as an obligation of fidelity to the perſon of the king, ſhould be conſidered as the bond which conſtitutes the citizen. Every man who gives a full conſent to be governed by the laws in all temporal matters, has an undoubted right, without any religious teſt, to all the privileges of a ſubject. But, as ſpirituals, in the church of Rome, imply temporals; the papiſt gives but half a temporal ſecurity, when he promiſes allegiance to another ſtate; and, therefore, the oath of ſupremacy is miniſtered in theſe kingdoms, in order to complete the oath of temporal allegiance. No other ſhould be demanded.

A chriſtian legiſlature cannot, without impiety, require ſubſcription, in any inſtance whatſoever, to human formularies of faith and doctrine. It would be impious, as we before obſerved, even in an independent chriſtian church, to impoſe ſuch a condition on its teachers; ſtill more ſo, in the legiſlature, to employ its force in giving ſanction to ſuch deciſions.

A proteſtant legiſlature is ſtill more forcibly prohibited the uſe of ſuch expedients. It is the criterion of proteſtantiſm, to diſclaim all foreign juriſdiction, in matters of a religious nature; and all human authority, in controverſies of faith. Nor can a legiſlature, which profeſſes to act upon proteſtant principles, without the added imputation of notorious inconſiſtency, require ſuch ſubſcription from thoſe who do, much leſs from thoſe, who do not, approve the eſtabliſhed diſcipline and worſhip.

But, ſubſcription to human formularies of faith and doctrine, excluſively of the impiety of ſuch requiſition, excluſively of its inconſiſtency, with the eſſential rights of proteſtants, is exceptionable for other reaſons,

ſons, even in independent aſſemblies of chriſtian people; but, ſtill more exceptionable, if ſuch ſubſcription be demanded, either of the laity or the clergy, in a national church.

It is poſſible, though not probable, that the members of one particular aſſembly may, for ſome ſhort ſpace of time, agree in a form of doctrine, which accurately exhibits a real confeſſion of their faith. But, in the caſe of a national church, wherein the number of perſons, differing from each other in the circumſtances of natural and acquired abilities, is proportionably augmented, it is morally impoſſible, that an explanatory confeſſion of faith can be drawn up in terms ſo ſimple, as accurately to expreſs the ſentiments of all its members. And yet, where this is not effected, the eſtabliſhment of a formulary fails of its avowed deſign.*

When

[* The intention of the thirty-nine articles, "to avoid diverſity of opinion, and to eſtabliſh conſent touching true religion," is too plainly declared in the very title, and too poſitively recogniſed in the act of uniformity,

When metaphyſical refinements, when ſcholaſtic differences and diſtinctions, enter into the contexture of ſuch confeſſions; to contend

uniformity, to allow any force to the popular plea of latitude of interpretation.

The inference which is drawn, in his majeſty's declaration, from the "moſt willing ſubſcription of all the clergy in the realm," is natural and fair; and, in the apprehenſion of common ſenſe, will always be underſtood as an argument, that they all agree in the true, uſual, and literal meaning of the ſaid articles, and look upon themſelves as bound, neither "to print or preach, or to draw the articles aſide any way; but to ſubmit to them in the plain and full meaning thereof, in the literal and grammatical ſenſe."

It is in vain to urge, as Mr. archdeacon Paley has done, the unreaſonableneſs of ſuppoſing "the legiſlature expected the conſent of ten thouſand men, and that in perpetual ſucceſſion, not to one controverted propoſition, but to many hundreds." (See his Principles of moral and political philoſophy. b. iii. p. 1. §. 22.) The preceding declarations are proofs that it did; and the charge of unreaſonableneſs only recoils on thoſe, who ſtill ſuffer ſuch a teſt to remain; or, who fancy that they can ſubmit to it, without incurring the ſuſpicions of their good faith in this point, which the author laments ſhould ſo generally prevail.

But Mr. Paley's caſuiſtry, in his chapter on "ſubſcription to articles of religion," is beſt anſwered by his own reaſoning in that "of religious eſtabliſhments,

and

contend for the impoſition of them, " for the purpoſe of avoiding of diverſities of opinion, and of eſtabliſhing conſent touching true

and of toleration." In the former, he ſeems to betray the yoke of bondage, in the diſplay of a very feeble apology; in the latter, he reſumes ſomewhat more of his chriſtian liberty, and recollects the principles of his proteſtant faith.—" Although," ſays he, " ſome purpoſes of order and tranquility may be anſwered by the eſtabliſhment of creeds and confeſſions; yet they are at all times attended with ſerious inconveniences. They check inquiry; they violate liberty; they enſnare the conſciences of the clergy by holding out temptations to prevarication: however, they may expreſs the perſuaſion, or be accommodated to the controverſies or to the fears of the age, in which they are compoſed, in proceſs of time, and by reaſon of the changes which are wont to take place in the judgment of mankind upon religious ſubjects, they come at length to contradict the actual opinions of the church, whoſe doctrines they profeſs to contain; and they often perpetuate the proſcription of ſects and tenets, from which any danger has long ceaſed to be apprehended."

With theſe objections, it is in vain to plead the morality or utility of continuing ſuch ſubſcriptions to human explications of the ſcriptures. Among other ſerious inconveniences here recited, we have heard of the lamentations of ſome, who, while they continued members of the eſtabliſhed church, and apologized for her impoſitions, have been wont, very feelingly and ingenuouſly, to declare, they " could not afford to keep a conſcience."]

true religion, would be to inſult the common ſenſe and reaſon of mankind.

If ſubſcription to ſuch a formulary be required of the clergy, is there not too much reaſon to apprehend, that falſhood or prevarication, avowed or ſecret infidelity, may be imputed to that order; and, the melancholy effects ſoon become too viſible in the increaſing diſſipation, and profligacy of manners, in all ranks of people? *

If there be yet a ſituation, in which theſe requiſitions are ſtill more peculiarly unjuſtifiable than in any other, it is in thoſe places which are ſet apart for the purpoſes of ſound learning, ingenuous manners, and religious education. †

Indeed, it appears ſcarcely poſſible to conceive, that the impoſition of academical ſubſcription can be defended, for a moment, upon any principles of reaſon or utility. It evidently tends to taint the native honour of ingenuous youth; to render the mind familiar

* See Hartley's "Obſervations on man," vol. ii. p. 351—358.

[† Concerning academical ſubſcription; ſee the four letters of "Paulinus," addreſſed to the gentlemen of the univerſity of Cambridge, vol. i. p. 182—216. and No. xii. of "Every man his own prieſt," vol. iii. p. 221—232.]

liar to the practice of unconvinced aſſent; and ſubjects theſe feats of elegant and uſeful literature to the charge of maintaining illiberal and excluſive principles, unknown even in ſtates wherein religious deſpotiſm, and the intolerant ſpirit moſt prevail. The continuation of this impoſition, upon perſons who receive no emoluments whatever from the eſtabliſhment; and, who, for a long courſe of years, have approved themſelves the beſt of ſubjects, muſt be conſidered, (after a reſpectful application has been made for its removal,) as proceeding from a deſire of exerciſing an unjuſtifiable dominion over the conſciences of chriſtians; and, eventually, may be productive of danger to the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate.*

Hear then the concluſion of the whole matter

[* The author laboured to promote a further application of the proteſtant diſſenters for an enlargement of their religious liberty; not only in regard to the removal of all ſubſcription to articles of faith, but to the repeal of the teſt act, and all penal laws in religious matters. He alſo juſtly conſidered them entitled to the uſe of a marriage ceremony, agreeably to their own principles.]

matter. Public virtue, public honour, and a vital religion founded upon the ſcriptures and embraced with fervour, unqueſtionably tend, as I before obſerved, to promote the public welfare; and form a permanent foundation for the real glory of a ſtate.

A meaſure, therefore, which removes obſtructions to the univerſal prevalence of the pure and unadulterated faith of Chriſt, and to the practice of every goſpel-virtue, inſtead of being repreſented as deſtructive of the eſtabliſhment, and as neceſſarily leading to the ſubverſion of the ſtate, ought in right reaſon to be promoted by every friend to his religion and his country, as likely to be productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences to public utility, and to public peace.

As a mode of producing the moſt beneficial effects, both to individuals and the community at large, the advantage of a national eſtabliſhment (meaning thereby a decent proviſion for a national clergy, bound by the moſt ſolemn engagements to execute the important truſt repoſed in them by the people) is moſt ſtrenuouſly maintained and inſiſted upon; a truſt, which, by its very nature, calls

calls upon that clergy to preach the pure, unmixed, uncorrupted word of God, as well as to adorn the profeſſion, by a viſible diſplay of every divine and ſocial virtue,—" a truſt, therefore, which cannot but be materially impaired by the obligation to ſubſcribe their unfeigned aſſent to a ſeries of articles, the doctrines of which, (from the popular modes of vindicating ſubſcription) they are ſuppoſed almoſt generally to diſclaim."

When the magiſtrate has conſented to the eſtabliſhment of a legal proviſion for an order of men, appointed to miniſter in the congregation of chriſtians, according to a ſtated form of prayer; and to preach the goſpel to the people, he has done his part: more he ſhould not preſume to do.

And it is thy duty, O man, whatever be thy ſtation, if with a ſafe conſcience thou canſt be preſent at the ceremonial in which they miniſter, to attend to their inſtructive voice: yet, at the ſame time, with a full aſſurance that then only thou canſt enjoy the expected fruits of thy attendance, when thy conduct is ſwayed by principles, which thy

own, and not another's judgment ſhall approve.

If thou acknowledgeſt the goſpel to be the word of that God, who is the creator of the world, and the lord of all that it inhabit, whatever be thy ſentiments with reſpect to the nature of the perſon he hath ſent, thy faith is ſound; thy acceptance reſts upon thy unreſerved obedience to this word.

If, moreover, thou liveſt in a country where the eſtabliſhed miniſters of religion are bound by the nature of their office, and encouraged by the laws to declare that word in its primæval purity, to the beſt of their capacity and power; thou haſt reaſon to rejoice in the circumſtances of thy lot.

But, let not any one of my hearers indulge the fond deluſion, that he now enjoys this privilege, in conſequence of his communion with the church of England. For, by the laws requiring ſubſcription to human formularies of faith and doctrine, each aſpirant to the miniſtry, each expectant of preferment; however fervent may be his affection to the religion of the goſpel; however firm his convictions of its truth; however loyal

to

to his king; however ſincere in his attachment to the conſtitution of his country, is reduced to the alternative, of foregoing thoſe emoluments, to which his education, or his labours in the courſe of his profeſſion, may entitle him; or, of acceding to an obligation, whereby he reſigns the exerciſe of his underſtanding and the deductions of his better judgment, to an authority, not leſs deſpotic, than the antichriſtian power of Rome. Under theſe circumſtances, he, at the ſame time, defrauds his congregation of their reaſonable claim to his inſtructions in the word of life; and ſubjects himſelf, too frequently, to the ſuſpicion of ſolemnly prevaricating with his conſcience, and of deliberately lying to his God.

Now unto the king eternal, immortal, inviſible, the only wiſe God, be honour and glory for ever and ever! Amen.

THEOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS,

AND

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

WITH

GENERAL MAXIMS

OF

REASON AND RELIGION.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

THEOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS,

AND

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

1.

Two important queſtions in which every individual is intereſted. 1ſt. Is there a future ſtate of pain and pleaſure? 2d. What expectations may I indulge of being happy in ſuch a ſtate? A religion, which ſettles both theſe points, muſt be from God. Chriſt's does ſo, and is ſupported by proper evidence, therefore, Chriſt's religion is divine.

2.

Reaſon is analogous to the naked eye; revelation to the ſight, aſſiſted by the teleſcope. The aſſiſtance of the inſtrument is equivalent to an increaſe of ſagacity, or addition to the natural powers of man: as the teleſcope improves the human ſight, ſo reaſon

ſon is aſſiſted by revelation. Each are equally true, and repreſent their object in a manner equally diſtinct.

3.

The rewards of futurity will be enjoyed in proportion to our compliance with the law of God, as declared in Micah vi. 8. " And now what doth the Lord require of thee, O man, but to do juſtice, love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

4.

Jeſus ſits at the right hand of God, by a ſimilar metaphor, as all the enemies of God are to be made his footſtool: i. e. both equally figurative expreſſions. Stephen's viſion was a ſymbol of Jeſus's power or meſſiahſhip, and ſo his enemies underſtood him.

Conſider the promiſe of the thrones to the apoſtles. In the ſame ſenſe to them as to Jeſus.

5.

Suicide is not a crime, which ſhould be deemed cognizable by the civil magiſtrate; but it is a ſinful and vicious action: becauſe it

it implies a want of truſt in the goodneſs of providence, and indicates the greateſt degree of ſelf-regard: hence frequent in lunacy, where ſelf-regards ſeem to annihilate all ſecondary affections, ſuch as modeſty, piety, benevolence.

6.

If the production of happineſs be pleaſing to the almighty, agriculture muſt be pleaſing, as from thence the means of living are ſupplied, not to man only, but to innumerable kinds of other animals, who reſide near the habitations of men.

Two ways of co-operating with the deity; one, in giving happineſs to thoſe already in exiſtence: the other, in contriving to give being to numerous tribes of rational and irrational animals, and to make them happy.

7.

A man ſhould be intrepid in his religious opinions. Fear withdraws the ſuccours of reaſon. Religious awe weakens the power of the mind. Hence, all the errors from this ſource. Fear guilt; fear to diſpleaſe the almighty: but be intrepid and bold in every other matter relating to religion.

8. "Qu'il

8.

" Qu'il ne faut point ſéparer les loix, de circonſtances dans leſquelles elles ont été faites."* An excellent rule for the interpretation of ſcripture, particularly in the epiſtles.

9.

" Tranſporter dans des ſiècles reculés toutes les idées du ſiècle ou l'on vit, c'eſt des ſources de l'erreur celle qui eſt la plus féconde."† Inveſtigate the reigning ideas and controverſies of the apoſtles times, and by them interpret their words. As in 1 Cor. xv. 3.

10.

Be the friend of liberty and truth, but in my religious reſearches avoid the " l'eſprit deſapprobateur" mentioned in Monteſquieu's preface. ‡

11. Virtue,

* Monteſq. Eſprit des loix, xxix. 14.

† Ib. xxx. 14.

[‡ The author here alludes to the beginning of Monteſquieu's preface to his " Eſprit des loix." " Si dans le nombre infini des choſes qui ſont dans ce livre, il y en avoit quelqu'une qui, contre mon attente, pût offenſer, il n'y

11.

Virtue, the principle of republics. Fear of God, that of a theocracy. The troglodytes did not ſeek a king 'till the public virtue began to grow feeble.* And the Iſraelites did not ſeek a king, till they were corrupted. No objection, therefore, can be made to the iſraelitiſh policy.

12.

We only perceive the next immediate agent; God works by ſecond cauſes. So does man. The inferior animals often feel the ſecond cauſes, and cannot aſcend to man, i. e. an intelligent being; ſo men with difficulty aſcend to God.

13.

When the apoſtle ſaid, "with us there is one

n'y en a pas du moins qui y ait été miſe avec mauvaiſe intention. Je n'ai point naturellement l'eſprit diſapprobateur. Platon remercioit le ciel de ce qu'il etoit né du temps de Socrate; & moi, je lui rends graces de ce qu'il m'a fait naitre dans le gouvernement ou je vis, & de ce qu'il a voulu que j'obéiſſe à ceux qui'il m'a ſait aimer."]

* Monteſq. Lettres perſ. xi. & xiv.

one God, one Lord," he referred to the times of the jewiſh kings. With the iſraelites in David's and Solomon's time, there was one God, and one Lord : i. e. one God, and one king, the lord of his inheritance, who was the firſt born, or ſon of God. Chriſt was Lord, i. e. king. If God was the governor of the jews, then the ſon of God was king.

14.

Chriſtianity more properly an attempt at a reformation, than a ſyſtem of morality.

15.

The firſt fundamental ſpeculative principle to be deduced from the ſtudy of the goſpel, is, that Jeſus was the meſſiah promiſed of God, and proved ſo from the ſupport of the God of nature.

The ſecond, that charity is the diſtinguiſhing mark of the diſciple of Jeſus. Chriſtianity, therefore, teaches us, that there is one God to be worſhipped, with all the affections of the ſoul; and that we are to love our neighbour as ourſelves.

16. Shun

16.

* Shun phyſical, ſhun metaphyſical diſquiſitions; ſuch as treatiſes of the pre-exiſtence of Jeſus, of the inſtrumentality of the ſpiritual gifts. Reject the diſcourſes of the earlieſt fathers, when they diſcuſs theſe points. The apoſtles themſelves would have no authority in theſe matters. The ſcriptures, under which head I rank all the writers of the apoſtolic age, have not, or ſhould not have any ſuch diſquiſitions. They are not in them. They cannot be deduced from them. Hermas called ſcripture by Irenaeus and Clem. Alex.

17.

The goſpels give us the hiſtory of the meſſiah's coming. His office appears in the prophets; to call men to virtue, to incorporate them, and to propoſe the future reward.

18.

Mem. to purſue the thought of evil. Moral evils being neceſſary to produce thoſe affections from whence man's happineſs muſt ſpring:

[* The propoſitions are to be conſidered as addreſſed to his pupils.]

ſpring: agreeably to my ſermon on "her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs," and agreeably to 1 Cor. xi. 19.

19.

Jeſus limits our forgiveneſs to ſeventy times ſeven, meaning the uſual phraſe for an indefinite number. So he uſes the word αιωνιος for an indefinite number, the jews dealing in hyperbole.

20.

I am ſatisfied, that the evangeliſts ſometimes deſcribe the courſe, or event of a converſation, in general terms; and frequently put their own words into the mouths of the ſpeakers, to render it conſiſtent.

21.

The ſcripture-language and meaning confirms Hartley's doctrine of free-will.

22.

It is very probable that many paſſages of the new Teſtament may be illuſtrated from the Koran.

23. ——— ſays,

23.

——— ſays, that myſteries declared neceſſary to ſalvation, are like Caligula's laws, hung on high.

24.

The origin of ſin given ad hominem, as the origin of the world: but labour was neceſſary from the beginning, acuens mortalia corda.

25.

Intolerants, and perſons who maintain eternal puniſhment and atonement, are more unfit for ſociety than atheiſts. This the judgment of ſome.

26.

The pleaſure and love of the human mind, generated in granting favours, is greater than the love generated by receiving them, in order that men may be incited to the firſt glory of their nature, the practice of benevolence.

27.

The functions of particular parts of our corporeal frame we call "the anima." The functions of other parts, or other functions

of the ſame, is "the animus." Lucretius ſuppoſes them to be ſeparate ſubſtances. I ſuppoſe them to be functions of our corporeal frame, and, therefore, diſſoluto corpore, and, ſometimes before the whole machine be diſordered, utterly to periſh: as the ſound to ceaſe, when the wire is broken. Let the muſcles, bones, cartilages, blood, lymph, inteſtines, fleſh, be called the body; and the nervous ſyſtem, pervading all, be called the anima; and Lucretius is often right. See the juſt opinion of Democritus, which Lucretius endeavours to confute, (iii. 372.) Lucretius ſuppoſes the motion of the fluid to be from itſelf: we, by impulſe, and communicated vibrations from without.

28.

The natural liberty of man conſiſts in having a will to act,* and an exemption from all reſtraints, ariſing from defects in the inſtrument of action, ſuch as in hands, feet, from palſies, &c. as well as from the reſtraints ariſing from natural external circumſtances.

Political liberty, when there are no reſtraints from men.

Moral

* See the definition of "will" in Hartley, vol. 1. p. 3, and 371.

Moral liberty, when I have the will to act, and am not reſtrained by the prevalence of bad habits, which prevent that ſtate of mind from being followed by actions or muſcular motions. In this ſenſe, every vicious man is really, and without a figure, a ſlave.*

29.

A doubt ariſes, whether St. Paul did not adopt the jewiſh mode of interpreting ſcripture, and argue inconcluſively.†

30.

Our ſaviour hath ſaid; bleſſed are little children, for of ſuch is the kingdom, i. e. ſuch are moſt likely to receive the goſpel, and to own its truth. If ſo, to be meek, peaceable, humble, innocent in word and action, are better preparatives than much reading. Shun conteſts, be forgiving, and thou wilt ſoon be a chriſtian.

31.

" Man is the perſon through whom his creator was pleaſed to appear in the viſible

 government

* See Turnbull, vol. i. 3. §. 4.

† See " Theological repoſitory." vol. iii. p. 86—105.

government of the world." * This the beſt explanation of Philip. ii. 7. and Heb. i. 1. I have ever ſeen. God was thus in Jeſus.

32.

In Whitby, on Gal. v. 19, is a very good delineation of real hereſy. †

33.

In ſea and land engagements, it is neceſſary to ſend perſons upon ſervices, in which it is moſt likely the perſons employed muſt fall. Theſe are neceſſary ſacrifices for the good

* See "Atticus" in the London Chronicle of Dec. 14, 1771.

[† "Hereſy, according to the ſcripture-notion, being not a pure miſtake of judgment; but an eſpouſing a falſe doctrine out of diſguſt, pride, or envy, or from worldly principles, or to avoid perſecution, or trouble in the fleſh, may well be ranked among carnal luſts. Hence, are ſuch men ſaid, "not to ſerve Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly;" (Rom. xv. 16, 17.) "to teach what they ought not, for filthy lucre's ſake;" (Tit. i. 11.) "to account gain for godlineſs;" (1 Tim. vi. 5.) and "through covetouſneſs, with feigned words, to make merchandize of others;" (2 Pet. ii. 3.) And, therefore, the apoſtle doth not adviſe us to convince; but only to admoniſh, and reject the heretic, as knowing that he ſins, being convinced of his own conſcience. See his note on Titus iii. 10]

good of the whole. Jeſus's ſuch a ſtation, and the reaſons were not myſterious, but have an eaſy explication from the hiſtory of what he attempted, and the circumſtances of the times. This well compared to a ſacrifice: but how different from the orthodox notions of the vicarious ſufferings of Chriſt. Purſue this idea. 5 Sept. 1771.

34.

" When cardinal Pole was conſulted by what method the hidden and obſcure paſſages of St. Paul's epiſtles might be unfolded and brought to light, he uſed to make the following anſwer: " that the moſt ready and expeditious way he could propoſe, was for the reader to begin at the latter end of the epiſtles, where the apoſtle treats of morality, and to practiſe what was delivered there; and then to go back to the beginning, where the doctrinal parts are reaſoned on with great acuteneſs and ſubtilty:" this ſpeech, continues Seripandi, was truly becoming ſo great a man, whoſe probity, religion, and ſanctity of manners, were no leſs admirable than his erudition. His diſcernment in divine matters gave

him to underſtand, that pure and upright minds attain, with eaſe, the knowledge of the moſt ſublime and abſtracted truths; whereas thoſe who neglect the practical and more intelligible parts of holy writ, as profane perſons, were forbid acceſs to the ſanctuary.*

35.

I agree with —— that Jeſus was never ſeen perſonally, by any mortal, after his aſcenſion into heaven. —— doubts whether the power given to our ſaviour, in heaven and earth, does not mean that he had power to give the goſpel to jews and gentiles. But query. 19 Mar. —72.

36.

John i. 12. θεȣ τεκνα. I am ſatisfied that 1 John iii. 1. 2, is the parallel place; and as θεος lurks under φως here, and yet θεȣ τεκνα follows: ſo in 1 John iii. 2, τεκνα θεȣ follows πατερα. This throws much light, and deſerves ſerious attention. 20 Mar. —72.

37.

The ſum total of the goſpel, which our ſaviour

* See Philips's Life of Pole, 2 edit. vol. ii. p. 288.

ſaviour himſelf preached in his life-time, and commiſſioned his apoſtles to preach, after his reſurrection, is this, that thoſe who believe in him, ſhall, upon repentance, have ſuch a full pardon of ſin as to be delivered from death. And that Chriſt, who hath promiſed this, hath given us an earneſt of it, by riſing himſelf from the dead.*

38.

Jeſus no more the mediator or interceſſor than ſacrificer. They talked of ſacrifices; Jeſus was a better ſacrifice. They talked of a mediator, Jeſus was a better mediator and interceſſor.

True religion, ſays Dr. Witherſpoon, is nothing elſe but an inward temper and outward conduct, ſuited to our ſtate and circumſtances in providence at any time.

39.

Price, on the queſtion, ſhall we know each other hereafter? or on the junction of virtuous men in the heavenly ſtate, appears to me to have proved his point; and I do not know any conſideration half ſo ani-

 mating.

* See "Socinian tracts." p. 73.

mating.* It gives us an hold of futurity; makes it desirable, by giving us an object of desire: in which, it makes futurity a continuation of existence with our present associations of the social kind. This deserves much and frequent consideration; it is sufficient to convert a person. The human heart is animated by the idea; a comfortable idea. Luther held it. See his words, in Sleidan, when he died.

40.

Future punishments, as considered by our divines, are a kind of transportation, where the sufferings are horrible, but afford no useful documents.

Better to consider the future state, not as a state of reward and punishment, properly so called; but as states which will be happy or miserable by natural consequence, as we behave here. This life is not wanting in rewards and punishments. Punishment is the annexing of something over and above the natural consequence of an action. But this addition, let divines say what they please, obtains not in the future state.

Beaufobre

* See Price's "Four dissertations." Dis. iii.

41.

Beauſobre ſays the oriental chriſtians believed that Jeſus became the ſon of God by baptiſm. Let me examine into the teſtimony of the ancients impartially.

42.

That Jeſus as a good being, and the friend of man, now prays for the happineſs of the human race, is very credible. Such an interceſſor I reject not. But what does he pray for? The ſame that he ſtruggled for on earth, that God's kingdom may come; i. e. that moral virtue may more and more diſplay itſelf. For individuals he prays not, becauſe beyond the opportunities of knowing them. In ſhort, I admit his interceſſion in heaven, as I allow the interceſſion of very good men on earth. But as an appointed interceſſor, or actual mediator, at this day, I ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe it.

43.

The quotations of the old Teſtament, like parables, brought in to prove only one point. The other circumſtances prove nothing. Ergo generally alluſions.

44. The

44.

The origin and vindication, as appears to me, of the double ſenſe of prophecies.

God, when he ſpoke, had only one ſenſe; and David, when he ſpake with no more than poetical inſpiration, in Pſalm ii. and xviii. had but one ſenſe, viz. his own elevation. But when God repreſented the meſſiah under temporal terms, and called him David, (Jer. xxx. 9. Hoſea iii. 5.) then God gave them a warrant to interpret things ſpoken of David, as ſpoken of the meſſiah. Yet this is to be done with caution. For David is here God's ſon; afterwards, Solomon. Which ſhews us that the meſſiah was not originally meant in either place, but incongruous figures, as Jeſus called the vine, and the way. Inquire into this. 9th July, 1772.

45.

To make uſe of the apocryphal writings of Barnabas, &c. to interpret difficult paſſages.*

46. The

* See Lardner's "Credibility." part. ii. vol. i. and ſeq.

46.

The grand queſtion is; Are facts which happened 1700 years ago to direct moral conduct? Anſwer. Yes; principles founded on them may. As is apparent from whole nations acting upon charters, and colonies upon the faith of former migrations.

47.

—— thinks that the goſpels and Jeſus's preaching were to ſhew one point, viz. that he was the meſſiah, or that "I am he," as he expreſſes it; the reſurrection or future ſtate taken for granted. But that, in the Acts, the ſcheme opens much, when the goſpel was preached to the pagans. —— has doubts about the invocation of Chriſt. Puzzled with Acts ix. 14.

48.

The matter of miracles being proved by doctrines, may eaſily be ſettled by dividing the queſtion. If we live when miracles are ſaid to be done, we inquire, as Farmer ſays, only into the fact. But, if we live in times after

after the miracle, then, as Jortin ſays, we muſt prove the miracle by the doctrine. We reject the pagan miracles as wrought for no purpoſe, or to eſtabliſh error.

49.

Dragonetti, in his treatiſe upon virtues and rewards, has the following diviſion of the virtues. Firſt, praiſe to thoſe who produce the ſupports of life; the ſecond, to remove evils; the third, conveniences with the queen of genuine pleaſures; the fourth, to relieve ſatiety by opening the treaſures of fancy. This moſt admirable. Agriculture the firſt.

50.

Miracles performed by a perſon, are not a proof of his perpetual inſpiration. In the ſame manner, miracles were not wrought in proof of Matthew's goſpel, but in proof of the chriſtian religion.*

51.

Men in England allow the uſe of one metal in

* See Farmer's "Diſſertation on miracles;" ch. v.

in planting religion in the human breaſt, viz. the uſe of gold: and why not then the uſe of ſteel?

52.

Among the injunctions given by the viſitors of the monaſteries in 1535 was the following: "The abbot or head was every day to explain ſome part of the rule [of his houſe,] and apply it according to Chriſt's law; and to ſhew them, that their ceremonies were but elements, introductory to true chriſtianity; and that religion conſiſted not in habits, or ſuch like rites, but in cleanneſs of heart, pureneſs of living, unfeigned faith, brotherly charity, and and true honouring of God in ſpirit and in truth: that, therefore, they muſt not reſt in their ceremonies, but aſcend by them to true religion." *

53.

The firſt aim to produce as much rational animal life upon a given diſtrict and diviſion of the earth as poſſible, with the moſt happineſs and leaſt pain. All duties beſides, only modes and means and ſteps to this end.

54. "Enfin

* See Burnet's "Hiſt. of reformation." 4th edit. vol. i. p. 178.

54.

" Enfin l'aſſemblée (i. e. the ſenate of Zurich) ſe ſepara, et cependant le ſénat ordon que l'on prêcheroit l'évangile ſelon la doctrine de l'ancien et du nouveau Teſtament, et non ſelon les décrets et les conſtitutions humaines." *

55.

Que l'écriture ſainte étoit tres facile et tres claire, et que pour l'entendre, il ne faloit ni gloſe ni commentaire, mais ſimplement avoir l'éſprit d'oüaille de Jeſus Chriſt, or the ſpirit of the νηπιος. Admirable ſentiment of Luther. †

56.

Every thing depends upon the huſbandman. The earth, the common mother of us all; ſhe produces, ſhe ſupports us; and therefore kings, biſhops, lawyers, phyſicians, ſoldiers, ſailors, &c. &c. &c. to be kept within

* Courayer. Conc. Trent. v. ii. 33.

† See Fra. Paolo Conc. Trent. vol. 1. p. 236.

within reaſonable bounds, otherwiſe they may depopulate the world.

57.

To be a platoniſt is to aſſent to Plato's doctrine. To be a chriſtian is to own Chriſt's authority.

58.

Differences of ſtyle, ſhould be as the differences of dreſs in a prudent miſtreſs of a family. One dreſs, when in domeſtic duties; another, when ſhe receives viſitors; a third, when ſhe viſits.

59.

" The moſt effectual way to overthrow error is to eſtabliſh truth." An uſeful hint, and falls in with my idea of divinity lectures.

60.

In the following words of lord Lyttelton, ſpeaking of William Rufus, is depicted the preſent ſtate of the engliſh laity; " his mind was too penetrating, not to ſee the depravity of

of what was then called religion, and his heart was too corrupt to ſeek for a better."*

61.

What Beccaria ſays of the diviſion of crimes, may be illuſtrated thus. A party are in a ſhip, a crime of leſe majeſty is an attempt to burn or ſink the ſhip. This the great evil, and, moſt ſtrongly, rouſes all. The ſecond, is an attempt to deſtroy the pilot, i.e. the king. This great, but not ſo bad as the firſt. The third, is to attempt to throw a fellow-paſſenger overboard. This terrifies all, but not ſo much as the firſt or ſecond. The fourth, making their proviſions leſs pleaſing to the palate, or ſome ſuch ſmaller injury. This ſtill lighter. This explains the matter intirely to my idea.†

62.

To a perſon who believes a God, an hereafter approves itſelf credible. Such a being as man, may ſay, " thou can'ſt raiſe me, O my creator; and as thou haſt given me a mind

* See " Hiſt. of Henry ii." 3. edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 131.

† See Beccaria, " Dei delitti e delle pene," the ſect. entitled, Diviſione Dei delitti.

mind capable of knowing thee, I truſt that if I imitate thy goodneſs, thou wilt raiſe me." This hope confirmed in the goſpel.

63.

It is a pleaſing reflection to think that, by exerciſe and reading, the human mind improves. Yet, if it fades, if it languiſhes and dies for ever, what comfort in the improvement of our faculties, or by acting in ſupport of religious liberty, and taking pains in the ſcriptures. But if we live again, then every improvement will remain, and it is worth while to increaſe in knowledge, and to improve in the moral and theopathetic affections of the ſoul.

64.

The happineſs of creatures who riſe again, muſt be greater than that of creatures who have not undergone trouble. God wills the greateſt happineſs; ergo, there is reaſon to hope a reſurrection.

65.

" Mais quelle eſt la direction ou tendance générale et commune que nous voyons dans

tous les êtres? Quel eſt le but viſible et connu de tous leurs mouvemens? C'eſt de conſerver leur exiſtence actuelle, c'eſt d' y perſeverer, c'eſt de la fortifier, c'eſt d' attirer ce que lui eſt favorable, c'eſt de repouſſer ce qui peut lui nuire, c'eſt de reſiſter aux impulſions contraires à ſa façon d'être, et à ſa tendance naturelle."*

66.

If the projectile motion ſhews a forming God, the centripetal force acting inceſſantly ſhews a preſerving God.

67.

" La morale eſt la ſcience des rapports qui ſont entre les eſprits, les volontés et les actions des hommes, que la géométrie eſt la ſcience des rapports qui ſont entre les corps. La morale ſeroit une chimere, et n'auroit point de principes ſûrs, ſi elle ne ſe fondoit ſur

* Mirabaud. vol. i. 53.

[The book here cited by the name of Mirabaud, is the celebrated " Syſteme de la nature," which, however, is now known to have been written, not by Mirabaud, but by a ſociety of the moſt eminent french unbelievers.]

ſur la connoiſſance des motifs qui doivent neceſſairement influer ſur les volontés humaines et determiner leurs actions."*

68.

" Un bon livre en touchant le cœur d'un grand prince, peut devenir une cauſe puiſſante qui influera néceſſairement ſur la conduite de tout un peuple, et ſur la félicité d'une portion du genre humain."†

69.

To have revealed a future ſtate too ſoon, would have put men under the power of prieſts too ſoon; but the almighty kept back that knowledge 'till men had improved their laws, &c. ſo as to be able the better to bear it.

70.

" Société, pour etre avantageuſe, devroit etre un ſyſteme de volontés, dans lequel celles que agiſſent d'une façon conforme aux

 interêts,

* Mirabaud i. 218. † Ibid. i. 236.

interêts du tout, eprouveroient infailliblement une reaction avantageuſe."*

71.

" Souvenons nous toûjours que notre bonheur ſolide doit ſe fonder ſur l'eſtime de nous-mêmes, et ſur les avantages que nous procurons à d' autres; et que de tous les projects le plus impracticable pour un être qui vit en ſociété, eſt celui de vouloir ſe rendre excluſivement heureux."†

72.

It is objected by philoſophers, that religion applies a motive too weak to turn the mind from vice in the moment of temptation. Were we to allow this in each particular inſtance, yet if we conſider the force of virtuous habits, which religion alone can form, we muſt allow her force to be great in forming the moral principle, which enables us to riſe ſuperior to every vicious appetite. This deſerves further reflection.

73.

Prayer, philoſophically conſidered, may, by altering the affections of my mind, put me

* Mirabaud i. 348. † Ibid. i. 361.

me into that ſtate, according to which, the courſe of divine providence renders me capable of bleſſings: popularly conſidered, i. e. in the effect, and as a ſecondary affection, it is to be ſuppoſed as working an alteration in the mind of God, our creator, governor, and judge. This ſeems to be the caſe. July 1773, but it cannot be worthily performed, unleſs the latter idea prevails at the time.

74.

" Il eſt evident que toute revelation qui n'eſt pas claire, ou qui enſigne des myſtêres, ne peut etre l'ouvrage d'un être intelligent et ſage: dès qu'il parle on doit preſumer que c'eſt pour etre entendu de ceux à qui il veut ſe manifeſter. Parler pour n'etre point entendu, n'annonce que de la folie, ou de mauvaiſe foi. Il eſt donc tres demontré, que tout ce que les prêtres ont appellé des myſtêres, ſont des inventions, faites pour jetter une voile epaiſſe ſur leurs propres contradictions, et leur propre ignorance ſur la divinité. Ils tranchérent toutes les difficultés, en diſant, c'eſt un myſtêre. D'ailleurs leur interêt voulut que les hommes n' entendiſſent

rien à la ſcience pretendue dont ils s'étoient faits les depoſitaires." *

75.

How it may be with the minds of others, I cannot poſſibly ſay. Mine cannot eaſily contemplate probability in a large number of independent arguments, and form a judgment from the whole. I am too much affected by each ſubject in its turn, which gets the intire poſſeſſion of my mind, and leads me into ſcepticiſm. The beſt way, therefore, to have conviction on important points, and to guard againſt error, ſeems to be, to practiſe thoſe moralities which are founded upon fact; to cultivate the ſecondary affections; to engage in works which tend to increaſe human happineſs; to aim at reſignation, a duty at all events; to read hiſtory; and to let opinions riſe unbidden to my mind, without thoſe laborious exerciſes of the brain, of which the produce is aridity and ſcepticiſm.

I have no occaſion to be alarmed with this incapacity of drawing inferences, after painful reflection, upon important ſubjects. It is

* Mirabaud ii. 89.

is the caſe in every other matter, where previous doubts are wont to ariſe. Attend to the duties of life, reſpecting of parents, loving friends; and ſeek the ſituation which is moſt agreeable to nature, (a country life, if not with children, yet with pupils,) and the convictions which nature warrants, will then ariſe in their proper courſe. 12 July, 1773.

When vice ſometimes, in the moment of temptations, appears the greater good, can I wonder that, in the moment of deſpondency, the worſe ſhould appear the better reaſon? Take the ſeaſon of temperance, benevolence, and health, and the ſecondary affections will then point at truth; and nature, rightly conceived of, will lead to nature's God.

76.

" Bien des gens ont regardé Jeſus comme un vrai Theiſte, dont la religion a été peu á peu corrompue." *

77.

" L'on ne doit donc pas craindre de repandre les idées parmi les hommes. Sont elles utiles elles fructifient peu á peu. Tout homme

* Mirabaud ii. 236.

qui ecrit ne doit point fixer ſes yeux ſur le tems ou il vit, ni ſur ces concitoyens actuels, ni ſur la contrée qu'il habite. Il doit parler au genre humain, il doit prevoir les races futures.*

78.

In the following words of Mirabaud is expreſſed, my idea of the religion of nature, ſo far as relates to our duty to our neighbour. He conceives this to be the voice of nature. I only differ from him in thinking it the voice of God. He is right in thus founding morality on fact. And the fact of Jeſus's reſurrection gives to religion its perfection, and confirms piety a moral duty.

" Suis donc, o homme! dans quelque rang que tu te trouves, le plan qui t'eſt tracé, pour obtenir le bonheur auquel tu peux prétendre. Que l'humanité ſenſible t'intéreſſe au ſort de l'homme ton ſemblable; que ton cœur t'attendriſſe ſur les infortunes des autres; que ta main généreuſe s'ouvre pour ſecourir le malhereux que ſon deſtin accable. Songe qu'il peut un jour t'accabler ainſi que lui. Reconnois donc que tout infortuné a droit à tes bienfaits. Eſſuie ſurtout les pleurs

* Mirabaud, ii. 422.

pleurs de l'innocence opprimée; que les larmes de la vertu dans la détreſſe ſoient recueillies dans ton ſein; que la douce chaleur de l'amitié ſincere échauffe ton cœur honnête; que l'eſtime d'une compagne chérie te faſſe oublier les peines de la vie; ſois fidele à ſa tendreſſe, qu'elle ſoit fidelle à la tienne; que ſous les yeux de parens unis et vertueux tes enfans apprennent la vertu; qu'apres avoir occupé ton age mûr, ils rendent à ta vieilleſſe les ſoins que tu auras donnés à leur enfance imbécille.

" Sois juſte, parceque l'equité eſt la ſoutien du genre humain. Sois bon, parceque la bonté enchaine tous les cœurs. Sois indulgent, parceque foible toi-même, tu vis avec des êtres auſſi foibles que toi. Sois doux, parceque la douceur attire l'affection. Sois reconnoiſſant, parceque la reconnoiſſance alimente et nourrit la bonté. Sois modeſte, parceque l'orgueil revolte les êtres epris d'eux-mêmes. Pardonne les injures, parceque la vengeance eterniſe les haines. Fais du bien à celui qui t'outrage, afin de te montrer plus grand que lui, et de t'en faire un ami. Sois retenu, tempéré, chaſte, parceque

que la volupté, l'intemperance, et les excés detruiront ton être, et te rendront mépriſable.

" Sois citoyen, parceque ta patrie eſt neceſſaire à ta ſureté, à tes plaiſirs, à ton bien-être. Sois fidele et ſoumis a l'autorités legitime, parce qu'elle eſt neceſſaire au maintien de la ſociété, qui t'eſt neceſſaire à toi-même. Obeïs aux loix, parce qu'elles ſont l'expreſſion de volonté publique, à laquelle ta volonté particuliére doit etre ſubordonnée. Defends ton pays, parce que c'eſt lui qui te rend heureux, et qui renferme les biens, ainſi que tous les êtres les plus chers à ton coeur. Ne ſouffre point que cette mere commune de toi et de tes concitoyens tombe dans les fers de la tyrannie, parceque pour lors elle ne ſeroit plus qu'une priſon pour toi. Si ton injuſte patrie te refuſe le bonheur; ſi ſoumiſe au pouvoir injuſte, elle ſouffre qu'on t'opprime, eloigne toi d'elle en ſilence; ne la trouble jamais.

" En un mot ſois homme; ſois un être ſenſible et raiſonnable; ſois epoux fidele, pere tendre, maître equitable, citoyen zélé; travaille

vaille à ſervir ton pays par tes forces, tes talens, ton induſtrie, tes vertus. Fais part à tes aſſociés des dons que la nature t'a fait; repand le bien-être, le contentement et la joie ſur tous ceux qui t'approchent: que la ſphère de tes actions, rendue vivante par tes bienfaits réagiſſe ſur toi-même; ſois ſur que l'homme qui fait des heureux ne peut etre lui-même mal-heureux. En te conduiſant ainſi, quelque ſoient l'injuſtice, et l'aveuglement des êtres avec qui ton ſort te fait vivre, tu ne ſeras jamais totalement privé des recompenſes qui te ſeront dues; nulle force ſur la terre ne pourra du moins te ravir le contentement interieur, cette ſource la plus pure de toute la felicité; tu rentras à chaque inſtant avec plaiſir en toi-même; tu ne trouveras au fond de ton cœur ni honte, ni terreur, ni remords; tu t'aimeras; tu ſeras grand à tes yeux; tu ſeras cheri, tu ſeras eſtimé de toutes les ames honnêtes, dont le ſuffrage vaut bien mieux que celui de la multitude égarée. Cependant ſi tu te portes au dehors, des viſages contens t'exprimeront la tendreſſe, l'intérêt, le ſentiment. Une vie, dont chaque inſtant ſera marqué par la

paix

paix de ton ame, et l'affection des êtres qui t'environnent, te conduira paiſſiblement au terme de tes jours; car il faut que tu meures; mais tu te ſurvis deja par la penſée; tu vivras toûjours dans l'eſprit de tes amis, et des êtres que tes mains ont rendu fortunés; tes vertus y ont d'avance érigé des monumens durables. Si le ciel s'occupoit de toi, il ſeroit content de ta conduite, quand la terre en eſt contente."*

79.

Piety, or duty to God, is a duty founded upon fact, as well as duty to man. It is nothing more than reſignation and thankſgiving, actions or affections are as ſtrongly ſuggeſted by the nature of things, as juſtice and benevolence.

80.

Hartley's ſolution of the chief difficulty with reſpect to a ſupreme intelligent cauſe. ii. 32.

" If there be nothing but matter in the world, then the motions and modifications of

* Mirabaud ii. 443.

of matter muſt be the cauſe of intelligence. But even finite intelligences, ſuch as that of man, for inſtance, ſhew ſo much ſkill and deſign in their conſtitution, as alſo to ſhew that their cauſes, i. e. the appropriated motions and modifications of matter, muſt be appointed and conducted by a prior and ſuperior intelligence. The infinite intelligence of God, therefore, (proved in the third propoſition,) ſince it reſults from the motions and modifications of matter, requires another infinite intelligence to direct theſe motions, which is abſurd. God is, therefore, proved to be immaterial from his infinite intelligence.

" It is true, indeed, that our ſenſes convey nothing to us but impreſſions from matter; and, therefore, that we can have no expreſs original ideas of any things, beſides material ones; whence we are led to conclude, that there is nothing but matter in the univerſe. However, this is evidently a prejudice drawn from our ſituation, and an argument taken merely from our ignorance and the narrowneſs of our faculties. Since, therefore, on the other hand, mere matter appears quite unable

unable to account for the ſimpleſt and moſt ordinary phænomena, we muſt either ſuppoſe an immaterial ſubſtance, or elſe ſuppoſe, that matter has ſome powers and properties different and ſuperior to thoſe which appear. But this laſt ſuppoſition is the ſame in effect asthe firſt, though, on account of the imperfection of language, it ſeems to be different.

" At theſame time it ought to be obſerved, that if a perſon acknowledges the infinite power, knowledge, and goodneſs of God, the proofs of which are prior to, and quite independent on that of his immateriality, this perſon acknowledges all that is of practical importance. But then, on the other hand, it is alſo to be obſerved, that the opinion of the materiality of the divine nature, has a tendency to leſſen our reverence for it, and, conſequently, to invalidate the proofs of the divine power, knowledge, and goodneſs."

N. B. This is an admirable and full anſwer to the chief objection in Mirabaud; and may be placed in a ſtill ſtronger light, if we adopt the language of Berkley and Malbranche.

81. Let

81.

Let us ſuppoſe a legiſlator was to live five hundred years, and, during that whole time, had the privilege of making laws for England, the paſſions of mankind, &c. remaining as they are. What a ſeries of ſchemes would be neceſſary to bring the people to virtue and happineſs. So God, in his diſpenſations, deals with mankind as men.

82.

Thankſgiving, and acts of reſignation, ſhould form the chief parts of our pious intercourſe with the deity. Theſe may be defended upon the ſcheme of philoſophical free will, or neceſſity, having God for its ſource.

83.

The following is the ſtate of too many of the clergy and fellows of colleges, not to their diſpraiſe, but by neceſſity; " che eſſendo privo de quello ſtimolo della vita attiva, che è la neceſſità di cuſtodire, O di aumentare i commodi della vita, laſcia alle paſſioni di opinione, che non ſono le meno forti, tutta la loro energia."

84. Cæſar

84.

Cæſar obſerved, that " omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta ſunt."* Hence, the corruptions of chriſtianity under popery prove its primæval excellence.

85.

The following, expreſſes my very ſentiment, as expreſſed in my ſermon.

" On demande s'il eſt poſſible d'aimer la vertu pour elle-même. C'eſt peut-etre le ſublime inſtinct de quelques ames privilegiées; mais toutes les fois que l'amour de la vertu eſt réfléchi, il eſt intéreſſé. Ne croyez pas que cet aveu ſoit humiliant pour la nature, vous allez voir que l'intérêt de la vertu s'epure et s'ennoblit comme celui de l'amitié, l'un ſervira d'exemple à l'autre.

" D'abord l'amitié n'eſt produite que par des vues de convenance, d'agrément et d'utilité. Inſenſiblement l'effet ſe degage de la cauſe; les motifs s'evanouiſſent, le ſentiment reſte; on y trouve un charme inconnu; on y s'attache par habitude la douceur

* Sall. Bell. Cat. 51.

ceur de ſon exiſtence: des lors les peines ont beau prendre la place des plaiſirs que l'on attendoit; on ſacrifie a l'amitié tous les biens qu'on eſperoit d'elle; et ce ſentiment, conçu dans la joie, ſe nourrit et s'accroit au milieu des douleurs. Il en eſt de même de la vertu. Pour attirer les cœurs, il faut qu'elle preſente l'attrait de l'agrément ou de l'utilité: car avant de l'aimer, on ſe l'aime; et avant d'en avoir joui, on cherche en elle un autre bien. Quand Regulus, dans ſa jeuneſſe, la vit pour la premiere fois, elle étoit triomphante, et couronnée de gloire: il ſe paſſionna pour elle; et vous ſavez s'il l'abandonna, lorſqu'elle lui montra des fers, des tortures, et des buchers." *

86.

The following two maxims are the ſum and ſubſtance of all practical religion. 1ſt. In thoſe circumſtances, which will not bend to our will, to reſt reſigned to the courſe of things, ſatisfied that they are directed by the hand of providence to the general good. 2d.

* Marmontel. Beliſaire. 101.

2d. In thoſe circumſtances which are influenced by our wills, to ſtrive to conform them to the general courſe of providence, i. e. aiming to direct them to the greateſt good, and cheriſhing in our hearts the love of human kind. (Mr. ——— ſays, that the ſoldiers and ſailors hold the doctrine of predeſtination, which ſupports them, and at leaſt makes them eaſy.) The foregoing maxims are the ſentiments of my heart, in an hour when truth is moſt likely to prevail. 10th Oct. —73.

87.

If the Newtonian and Maclaurinian method of proving a deity will not ſtrike, every other method, or more complex proof, muſt fail. The mind which rejects them muſt reject every other ſpecies of proof, and is unable to comprehend any truth whatſoever.

88.

Natural religion teaches us to hope for an hereafter. Revelation aſſures us of it. Natural religion teaches us to hope, that if a man repent, God will pardon. Jeſus proclaimed

claimed remiſſion of ſins, i. e. he ſhewed, by the fact of inviting men to repent, that a converſion of the heart to God would be accepted by the father of mankind. I do not ſuppoſe that a perſon embracing chriſtianity without practiſing the virtues, would be happy; but he was put in the way of making the proper atonement, by the authoritative declaration of God's pardon in caſe of amendment. Theſe, the two grand purpoſes of Chriſt's coming. 31ſt Dec. 1773.

89.

The ſtrongeſt argument for God's creative power, and diſpoſing and preſerving providence, from theſe three ſections of Newton, the 9th, the 11th, and the 12th. The particles of matter might, for any thing we ſee, have attracted one another, according to an infinite variety of laws, but the inverſe ſquare the only wiſe one. This in my opinion deſtroys all the reaſonings of Mirabaud. My lectures to —— are, I truſt, juſt. 9th Jan. 1774.

90.

Four points in chriſtianity. 1ſt. Remiſſion of ſins on repentance aſſured to us by fact. 2d. Reſurrection on the ſame foundation. Duties. 1ſt. Love of God. 2d. Love of man. A deiſt receives theſe from the light of nature. A chriſtian from the expreſs revelations from the author of nature. See all this in Tit. ii. 11.

91.

Natural rights which are not created, but only ſecured by ſociety. 1. Life. 2. Liberty. 3. Property. 4. Marriage. 5. Divine worſhip.

92.

Women are not dealt with juſtly by the laws of the land. All laws of inferiority ſhould be repealed. Compact ſuppoſes equality.

T H E S I S

HABITA IN SCHOLA THEOLOGICA

CANTABRIGIÆ.

21 DIE MARTII. MDCCLXXI.

NUNC PRIMUM IMPRIMITUR EX MS.
AUTOGRAPHO.

STATUS ANIMARUM IN INTERVALLO MORTIS ATQUE RESURRECTIONIS AGENTIUM QUICQUAM SIVE SENTIENTIUM EX SACRIS LITERIS COLLIGI NEQUIT.

Si quis eorum inſtituta et præcepta, quos ſapientum nomine priorum ætatum laudes honeſtarunt, animo recenſeret et luſtraret, multum ſane ſibi gratularetur nato, cúm pleno orbe revelationis lumen mortalibus affulſit. Sive enim ſpes hominum vanas et caducas ſpectemus, ſive eorundem vitas ad philoſophiæ fallacis normam effictas contemplemur, in moribus inconſtantia, in morte deſperatio ſæva dominata eſt. Quamplurimi certe ante Chriſtum natum extiterunt doctrinâ perpoliti, honeſtiſſimis moribus ornati, civium decus et tutamen. Quid vero a nobis cenſendum eſt, cum eoſdem videmus ſupremo ſpiritu profitentes virtutem nomen eſſe inane, ac nil poſt mortem a mortalibus ſperandum? Semper ante oculos verſatur vulgus ſuperſtitionibus pravis deditum et implicitum, omni morum ſpurcitie

inquinatum. Apparuit Chriſtus ſolis inſtar imbres atque nubes diſſipantis, et ſtatim, diffugiunt tenebræ,

" placatumque nitet diffuſo lumine cælum."

Mortalium generi erroris ſpecie omnimoda laboranti tandem ſuccurritur: philoſophiæ forma vere divina ſeſe cælo demiſit, et vultu ad ſedes beatas penitus converſo nos a Lethæo amni, a mortis nigrore ſempiterno evellens atque vindicans, Elyſii campos late diffuſos oculis ſubjecit, et favente fide, nos in ipſo cæli limine collocavit.

Quanquam vero ille ſummus præceptor, cui ſoli in eccleſiam ſuam a Deo conceditur dominium, ut nobis viſum eſt, omnia clare atque dilucide propoſuit: exorta eſt tamen per multa ſecula ſummis adverſantium viribus agitata queſtio: de quâ ſecundum academiæ inſtituta jam a nobis diſputandum eſt.

Septimo ut traditur decurrente ſeculo primo exortus eſt eorum error, qui volunt vitâ defunctorum animas pœnis exerceri, donec omnes exceſſerint corporeæ peſtes, et longa dies concretam labem exemerit, et æthereum ſenſum purum et ſimplicem reliquerit.* Hinc renatum eſt figmentum immortalitatis

* Virg. Æn. vi. 745.

mortalitatis animæ ad purgatorii ignis doctrinam quæſtuoſiſſimam ſtabiliendam apprimè aptum et neceſſarium. Inde in eccleſiam anglicanam at miris modis inflexum atque modificatum profluxit, et paululum temporis inter confeſſiones noſtras locum ſibi vindicavit. Elizabetha principatum tenente, deliramenta hinc naſcentia ſanior ætas profligavit, emendati quidem ſeculi, et doctiorum hominum opprobria, ad ſomnia ſcholaſticorum vero jam jamque abitura.

Priuſquam autem inveſtigemus utrum animis concedatur vigor perennis et immortalis, caute diſtinguendum eſt inter quæſtiones quæ idem ſonare videntur, ab invicem tamen toto cælo, ut dicitur, ſemotæ. Qui enim ſtatuunt ſtatum futurum ope rationis quodammodo patere, nos minimè habent ſecum diſſidentes, nam ſtrenuè pro numinis providentiâ et ipſi propugnamus, libentiſſimè ſapientiam ac potentiam ſummi rerum conditoris et patris prædicamus, atque ex benignitatis in genus humanum hactenus exercitæ indiciis feliciſſima auguria favoris in poſterum erga bonos duci poſſe confitemur. Qui nos ex pulvere finxit et formavit in pulverem

pulverem converſos ad vitalis auræ communionem revocare poteſt; nec de voluntate quæſtio eſt.

" At poſita hominum vitâ futurâ ſequitur neceſſario animæ humanæ immortalitas." Hanc vero concluſionem ſequi ex iis, quæ de infinitâ Dei potentiâ, ſapientiâ et bonitate conceduntur, negamus. Probant nimirum argumenta hinc deſumpta, hominibus in terram cadentibus ſpem quandam reſervari; minime vero oſtendunt, animam a corpore ſejunctam in æternum durare.

Ad legem vero et teſtimonium provocemus. Paulus ad dilectiſſimum in evangelio filium Timotheum ſcribens, hiſce verbis hortatur. " Noli itaque erubeſcere teſtimonium domini noſtri, neque me vinctum ejus: ſed collabora evangelio ſecundum virtutem Dei, qui nos liberavit, et vocavit vocatione ſuâ ſanctâ, non ſecundum opera noſtra, ſed ſecundum propoſitum ſuum et gratiam quæ data eſt nobis in Chriſto Jeſu ante tempora ſæcularia; manifeſtata eſt autem nunc per illuminationem ſalvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui deſtruxit quidem mortem,

mortem, illuminavit autem vitam et incorruptionem per evangelium?"*

Qui hæc verba ſanius interpretati ſunt, in duas ſententias abiiſſe videntur.

Quibuſdam nempe pro comperto habetur, Paulum in hoc loco ad Adami peccatum atque pœnam reſpexiſſe. Horum ſententiæ minime nos inficias ibimus. Credunt itidem Adamum immortali naturâ primo gaudentem, ob lacrymabilem ſuum lapſum ſpem hancce lætam et conditionem deponere coactum eſſe, ærumnis atque morti in poſterum obnoxium. Hactenus nos ſecum conſentientes trahunt. Ponunt denique ob Chriſti merita peccatum hocce humano generi condonari, et animæ reſtitui vigorem in omne ævum permanſurum. Horum ſententiam a noſtrâ quidem toto cælo ſejungi prædicamus.

Aliam opinionem tuendam ſuſceperunt permulti, de orbe chriſtiano optimè meriti, quam nuper quidem celeberrimi archidiaconi Londinenſis patrocinio honeſtatam videmus. In cujus caſtra, tanta eſt hominis admiratio,

* 2 Tim. i. 8—10.

admiratio, libentiſſime tranſiremus, ſi nos non tui, O ſacroſancta veritas, prohiberet amor! tuam enim imaginem et amabilem formam cum Athanaſio commorantem, ſi quidem cum Athanaſio homine nequiſſimo et heretico vel punctum temporis commorari ſuſtineres, veneramur; inviſum vero atque tetrum erroris ſimulachrum, etiam ſi in pectore ſanctiſſimis moribus ornato, et ſpiritu vere chriſtiano inſtructo deliteſcat; etiam ſi ipſe patrocinetur Jortinus, reſpuimus et oppugnamus.

Hoſce igitur ſi audiamus, immortalitatis doctrinam hactenus obſcure ſignificatam ſolummodo colluſtravit Chriſtus. Mortales a ſalutis viis atque ſemitis palantes reduxit, animarum immortalitatem et cœli portas fidelium oculis reſeravit, ſubjecit: Se clarum nuncium atque fidum numinis benigniſſimi interpretem morte ſuâ et reſurrectione confirmavit.

Nobis vero aliud iter progredientibus videtur humano generi hæc primus retuliſſe, revelâſſe Chriſtus: abolitâ non quidem morte, quæ etiamnum in genus hominum deſævit, abolito autem ſempiterno mortis in

Adami

Adami poſteros dominio. Corpore in cineres redacto, animam ipſam, animam dico extingui neceſſe eſt. In ſepulcro mens et corpus pariter ſopita quieſcunt, nec, ſi rerum naturam per interpretem ſuum Lucretium loquentem audiamus,

Quiſquam expergitus exſtat,
Frigida quem ſemel eſt vitâi pauſa ſecúta.

Deo vero omnipotenti, qui rerum curſum atque exitum, et naturæ vices arbitrio ſuo temperat et diſponit, hunc fatorum ordinem reſcindere placuit; has naturæ leges, naturæ parens, abrogavit, refixit. Nec placito obſtat quam nunc cernimus corporis humani in terram, unde etiam ſumptum fuit, converſio; nec ob lapſum Adami animæ extinctio, et oblivia rerum. Nobis quidem, vel iiſdem, ut dicitur, perſonis, qui nunc conjugio corporis atque animæ apti vivimus, vitam immortalem, hoc eſt vitam, ærumnis atque morti minime obnoxiam, polliceri poteſt Deus, et ab integro tali vitâ vel vivendi conditione nos poſthac ſuo tempore donare.

Nec quiſquam de nobis tanquam hæc ex procaci ingenio et petulanti effutientibus exiſtumet;

iſtumet; Chriſtus enim et apoſtoli aſſeverant diem inſtare, patri ſoli notum, impiis ſane terribilem et jure formidandum, piis vero ſedulo expectandum, in quo qui mortui ſunt vocem filii Dei exaudient, et vitam æternam, ſi probe, pie, et caſte vixerint, conſequentur.

En ſtatum chriſtianorum futurum! en verba veritatis quæ ſpes naturæ, quæ rationis judicia ampliſſime confirmant!

De immortalitate animarum vero et de earundem natura prorſus ſiletur. Reſurrectione Chriſti, tanquam rupe ventis atque æſtu marino inconcuſſo et immoto, innititur reſurrectio noſtra. Chriſtus ſurrexit, reſurgentium primitiæ; adveniente Chriſto, nos itidem reſurgemus.

Quoniam vero mos nunc per multa ſæcula invaluit, ut, verba veritatis derelinquentes ad philoſophorum placita confugiamus, et quæſtionem vere theologicam ethnicorum ſomniis et argutiis et diſputatiunculis temeremus, quædam ab iiſdem fontibus, nos quoque delibemus.

Socrates tenuiſſe dicitur animos hominum eſſe divinos, eorumque duplices curſus e corpore

corpore excedentium: impiis quoddam iter eſſe, ſecluſum a concilio Deorum; bonis vero et caſtis ad Deos a quibus eſſent profecti facilem reditum patere. Scilicet vir probus, caſtus, et ferme chriſtianus omnia nutu entis ſapientiſſimi et benigniſſimi adminiſtrari ſenſit. Mortalia vero omnia quæcunque ſenſibus offeruntur percipiens, vitâ atque reſurrectione a Chriſto nondum patefacta, ad animarum immortalitatem ſtatim confugit; ne ſententiam ſuam pene ſingularem de numinis ſummi juſtitiâ et bonitate prorſus abjiceret.

Zeno, ſtoicorum princeps atque pater, animum eſſe ignem, contrahi, atque labi, concidere et dormire dixiſſe perhibetur.

Immortalitatis animarum acerrimum vindicem fuiſſe Platonem confitemur. Animæ vero eſſe triplicem naturam ſtatuens, principatum vel rationem in capite tanquam in arce collocans, iram in pectore, et cupiditatem ſubter præcordia detrudens, hæc omnia non a naturâ quâdam ſubtili, oculorum obtutum fugienti exorta, plane vero nominari poſſe affectus corporis tangibilis et ſenſilis, profitetur.

Alii

Alii animam harmoniam, alii motionem eſſe quandam continuatam et perennem, prædicârunt; ſcilicet vel nugas agentes, aut revera nihil eſſe animam ſtatuentes, et ad entia rationis, ut dicitur, referendam.

Epicuri ſententia bene nota eſt, ſummi quidem viri, et omni laude merito ornati et eumulati: hujuſce de hâc re dogmata carminibus ſuis pœne divinis immortalitati conſecravit Lucretius: qui argumentis pluſquam viginti graviſſimis demonſtravit, mortalem vivere mentem. Quid enim ut ſummus ipſe poeta loquitur,

Quid enim divertius eſſe putandum eſt,
Aut magis inter ſe disjunctum, diſcrepitanſque,
Quam mortale quod eſt, immortali atque perenni
Junctum; in concilio ſævas tolerare procellas!

Agmen claudat vir celeberrimus, de quo ſequentia a Marco Tullio referuntur.

" Dicæarchus, in eo ſermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit, Pherecratem quendam Pthiotam ſenem diſſerentem inducit, nihil eſſe omnino animum, et nomen totum inane; fruſtraque animalia et animantes appellari; namque in homine ineſſe

* Lucr. lib. iii. v. 804.

ineſſe neque animum nec animam, nec in beſtia: vimque omnem eam qua vel agamus quid, vel ſentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis æquabiliter eſſe fuſam, nec ſeparabilem a corpore eſſe, quippe quæ nulla ſit: nec ſit quicquam, niſi corpus unum et ſimplex ita figuratum, ut temperatione naturæ vigeat et ſentiat."*

Huic Pherecrati Pthiotæ ſeni ex intimo animo atque corde nos quidem aſſentimur.

Animas hominum eſſe immateriales, et nihilominus vermibus rodi, igni materiali ſubjici, torreri, recentiorum quorundam figmentum eſt. Quicunque olim animam eſſe immortalem philoſophati ſunt, materiali natura donarunt. In hiſce nugis diſcutiendis diutius immorari pudebit.

Sæpiſſime vero qui ſani et orthodoxi audiunt, muſſitant doctores; Deum quidem immortalitatis animarum ſignificationem et obſcuram quandam imaginem Moſi et prophetis indulſiſſe. At loca requiro. Mihi enim veterum prophetarum ſermones recolenti, Davidis obverſatur oratio ſæpius ejulantis, "Scis inter mortuos neminem tui memo-

* Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. i.

memorem: in ſepulcro neminem tuas laudes celebrare.* Quodnam lucrum eſt in ſanguine meo cum in foveam deſcendero? an laudabit te pulvis? an veritatem tuam nunciabit?† In ſepulcrone narratur benignitas tua, et veracitas tua in ſtatu, in quo ſunt qui perierunt? An in tenebris innoteſcunt mirabilia tua, et juſtitia in terra oblivionis?"‡ Iſaiam audiamus: "Mortui non reviviſcunt, vitâ functi non reſurgunt. ‖ Neque enim ſepulcrum laudabit, aut mors te celebrabit, neque qui in foveam deſcendunt, fidem a te datam expectabunt."§ Quidve in re tam clarâ memorem filium Davidis ſapientiſſimum, qui diſerte dicit, "unus interitus eſt hominis et jumentorum, et æqua utriuſque conditio. Sicut moritur homo, ſic et illa moriuntur, ſimiliter ſpirant omnia, et nihil habet homo jumento amplius. Cuncta ſubjacent vanitati, et omnia pergunt ad unum locum. De terrâ facta ſunt, et in terram pariter revertuntur." ¶

At mortui iraſci, inſoleſcere, mærere, plangere

* Pſal. vi. 5.
† Pſal. xxx. 9.
‡ Pſal. lxxxviii. 11, 12.
‖ Iſa. xxvi. 14.
§ Iſa. xxxviii. 18.
¶ Eccleſ. iii. 19—21.

gere dicuntur, agere igitur et ſentire neceſſe eſt ut concedamus.

Hujuſce erroris originem primus referat Tullius Cicero; poſtea præſulem Oxonienſem celeberrimum, omni noſtrâ laude majorem, audiemus.

" Qua in ſede maneant animi, qualeſque ſint, ratione diſcendum eſt: cujus ignoratio finxit inferos. In terram enim cadentibus, hiſque humo textis, (e quo ductum eſt humari,) ſub terram cenſebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum: quam eorum opinionem magni errores conſecuti ſunt, quos auxerunt poetæ; tantumque valuit error, ut corpora cremata cum ſcirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quæ ſine corporibus nec fieri poſſent nec intelligi."*

In Lowthii prælectionibus de ſacra hebræorum poeſi, hæc verba præclara invenimus.

" Qualis itaque ab animis a corpore ſejunctis vita viveretur, quis eorum locus, forma, conditio, Hebræi juxta cum cæteris mortalibus in ſumma ignoratione verſabantur. Neque eos hac in parte vel minimum ſacri codices adjuvere; haud quia hanc iis cognitionem invideret divina revelatio, ſed quia

* Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. I.

humanæ mentis conditio eam omnino non recipiat; quæ cum res a corpore et materia remotas contemplatur, propriarum notionum inopia cogitur ad improprias confugere, et corporeis incorporea quadantenus adumbrare. Cum itaque viderent corpora vita functa in terram cadere, eoque modo quo dictum eſt ſepulcro condi, percrebuit apud Hebræos, ut apud cæteros etiam, opinio quædam popularis, agi ſub terra vitam mortuorum deinceps conſequentem: quam ut adſciſcerent vates ſacri, etiam neceſſe erat, ſi modo de hac re omnino loqui et intelligi vellent.

" Atque hinc plane eſt quod mortui toties dicuntur deſcendere in foveam, in inferiora terræ, ad portas et penetralia lethi; ad ſaxa, ad latera, ad repagula cavernæ: hauſit eos avidis faucibus ſepulcrum, atque os iis occludit: decumbunt in Barathro, in loca vaſta, in voraginem, tenebraſque profundiſſimas demerſi; in terram caliginis, et umbram mortis, immanem, tetram, carentem ordine; et ubi pro luce veluti diradiatur caligo."*

Nunc vero chriſtum et apoſtolos adeamus; et ſtatim perſentio, quod, largior hic campos æther,

* Prælec. ſeptima. edit. 1763.

æther, et lumine veſtit purpureo: etenim non imaginibus obſcuris atque ſimulacris, non longis ambagibus adumbratus nobis declaratur reportatus de morte triumphus. Omnia clare et dilucide fidelium oculis proponuntur. Mortem abolevit victor Chriſtus, et per evangelium vitam et immortalitatem illuſtravit. A Joanne inducitur diſerte dicens; " deſcendi de cælo non ut meam, ſed ut ejus qui me miſit voluntatem exequar; hæc eſt autem patris qui me miſit voluntas, ut quicquid mihi dederit nihil ex eo deperdam, ſed ultimo die illud reſuſcitem."* Se vocat itidem primum et ultimum, ſe habere gloriatur claves inferorum et mortis, ſe in gloriâ patris tandem venturum confirmat, clangente tubâ, angelorum comitatu ſtipatum, mortuos reſuſcitatos unâ cum viventibus in cælos fore rapiendos, ut domino in aere obviam camus, et ita cum domino in æternum habitemus.

Nondum vero venit ea hora, nondum ſonuit tuba; etiamnum ſanctorum corpora, et ſi dentur animæ, animæ etiam in ſepulcris deliteſcunt. In quodnam ergo tempus relegare

* Johan: vi. 38, 39.

velis judicis mortuorum et viventium adventum, meritaſque et præclaras diſcipulorum Chriſti palmas? Ex quo enim majores obdormiverunt, omnia in eodem ſtatu ab orbe condito perſeverant.

Illuſores hoſce, quos in ultimis temporibus venturos vaticinatus eſt Chriſtus, hoc modo convincit et redarguit Petrus. "Non tardat dominus promiſſum ut nonnulli tarditatem interpretantur, ſed lentus eſt erga nos, nolens quenquam perire, ſed omnes ad pœnitentiam volens reverti."* Et poſtea, ne adverſarii triumphos agant, ne fratres chriſtiani longa expectatione contabeſcant, animos eorum ſubito et inopinato Chriſti adventu erigere et conſolari conatur. "Veniet quidem domini dies ut fur noctu; in quâ cæli magno impetu interibunt, elementa ardentia diſſolventur, et tellus et quæ ſunt in eâ conflagrabunt."† Atque ſtatim, eos ad quos miſſa eſt epiſtola, alloquitur; "qua propter, chariſſimi his expectandis, date operam ut ab eo immaculati et inculpati cum pace reperiamini."‡

Eodem

* 2. Pet. iii. 9.
† Ibid. iii. 10.
‡ Ib. iii. 14.

Eodem more atque modo omnibus, qui ſeſe diſſerentem audiverunt, vigilandum eſſe confirmavit Chriſtus. Ab omnibus fidelibus etiam ab apoſtolis, adventum ejus in gloriâ patris expectandum.

Iiſdem dolorum et ægritudinum fomentis, Theſſalonicenſes ſuos graviter commotos, et ob interitum amicorum immodice lugentes, conſolatur Paulus. Ploraviſſe videntur et congemuiſſe eorum caſum, qui morte obitâ, ab omni ſpe hereditatis ſuæ conſequendæ dejecti et depulſi videbantur. Coloribus plane diſſimilibus recentiorum conſolatoria depingitur atque illuminatur oratio. " Fratres et amici, luctum et mærorem deponite, in animam mors nequaquam dominari valet. E corporis vinculis erupit, evaſit. Sublimis ſcandit nubes, ad æthera, unde primum dilapſa eſt, revertitur; ad ſinum patris ſui atque Dei migravit. Cum Chriſto verſata, gaudium ſummum et fælicitatem enarrabilem, percipit, a morte et mortalium ærumnis in æternum vindicata."

Theologum et oratorem, iis quos nunc fert tellus certe præſtantiorem, audite Paulum. " Hoc vobis annunciamus in verbo

domini, quod nos, qui vivimus, qui reſidui ſumus in adventum domini, non præveniemus eos, qui dormierunt; at mortui in Chriſto primo reſurgent."* Quænam igitur rerum facies rapidum et ardentem Pauli ſpiritum, pleno flumine dum ferri videbatur oratio, coercere potis eſt: reſpondeo, ſacroſancta, ut in Jeſu invenitur, veritas; quam inviolatam et intemeratam ſervare decebat. Hinc Theſſalonicenſium ſpes et expectationes ad tempus, ut patet, longinquum invitus et plane coactus relegat; nec ut auditorum animos ad partes ſuas deliniat, evangelii veritatem figmentis hominum contaminare auſus eſt.

Etiamnum adventum vero tardante Chriſto, multorum amor tandem refrigeſcit, ad ſpes inanes, ad ſomnia philoſophorum iterum devoluti ſumus. Immortalitatem animarum ad incudem revocamus, et, claro revelationis lumine poſthabito, reclamante ratione, et naturâ rerum, honeſtiorem literarum cultum quæ dedecorant argutiis et diſputatiunculis, ſtabilire conamur. Nobis ſane, majorem ævi partem qui tamen ſomno conterimus,

* 1 Theſſ. iv. 15, 16.

conterimus, adeo grave et acerbum videtur hocce intervallum otio et silentio transigere; scilicet sollicitis, semel si dormire concedatur, ne Endymionis more in monte Latmo recumbentis, in æternum dormiendum sit. Atque adeo in insano labore, atque infelici desudavimus, ut tandem resurrectionem mortuorum a Christo pollicitam, et resurrectione Christi confirmatam solam atque unicam statûs futuri spem certam et indubitatam, in ejusdem corporis caduci, debilis, et infirmi resurrectionem, spem quidem vermium magis quam hominum, penitus convertimus.

Argumenta a sacris literis deprompta, quibus talem opinionem tueri volunt adversarii, pro virili in disputatione refellere conabimur. Hujusce loci sit solummodo scrupulum injicere, utrum hæc merces laborum, hæc virtutis præmia, tanto verborum apparatu, tantâ prædicatione digna sint, dum in tenebris et carcere corporis, ut dicitur, claudantur animæ, dira pati posse, et credimus et videmus; semel vero e custodiâ corporis et colluvione dimissas iterum in cætum et conjugium corporis velle reverti, prorsus et mirum

mirum et incredibile cenſendum eſt. Melius Æneas,

O pater, anne aliquas ad cælum hinc ire putandum eſt
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? quæ lucis miſeris tam dira cupido?*

Certe ſi quidquam de meipſo prædicare licet, unice exopto, ut quæcunque revelavit Deus, patienter inveſtigem, fideliter tradam, forti animo et invicto defendam. Ut doctrinam Chriſti vitâ atque moribus ad pietatis et virtutis normam rite compoſitis ſemper ornem. Ut ſupremo ſpiritu exclamare liceat, vixi, et quem dederit curſum naturæ parens, peregi.† Sit mihi denique libertas, evangelii ob amorem, natali ſolo gratior. In articulo mortis reſurgendi certa ſpes, in ipſâ morte, alta quies, placiduſque ſomnus.

Ex præmiſſis igitur concludo, quod ſtatus animarum in intervallo mortis atque reſurrectionis agentium quicquam ſive ſentientium ex ſacris literis colligi nequeat.

* Virg. Æn. vi. † Ib. Æn. iv. 654.

A SHORT STATE OF THE REASONS FOR A LATE RESIGNATION;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS.

AND

A LETTER TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

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A SHORT STATE, &c.

In compliance with the ſuggeſtions of ſome worthy perſons, who had peruſed a letter I ſent to the biſhop of Norwich previous to my reſignation, I have now ſtated more fully my opinion, reſpecting the particular point of doctrine, which gave occaſion to that meaſure: I have added ſome remarks concerning the ſpirit of proteſtantiſm, and the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, which I hope will not be judged unſeaſonable; and have ſubjoined the above-mentioned letter to my late dioceſan.

I ſubmit my ſentiments on theſe ſubjects to the candour of the public. I would not willingly ſhock the feelings of any pious chriſtian. Let ſuch reflect, that if I have embraced an opinion reſpecting the perſon of our ſaviour, which is chargeable with heterodoxy, my declaration of ſuch opinion cannot have the remoteſt tendency to the impoſition

impoſition of it on his conſcience. It is in the option of every reader to reject it, if in his own apprehenſion it is abhorrent from the doctrines of the goſpel.

It has been for ſome time paſt my firm perſuaſion, that the doctrine of the trinity, as explained in the creed of Athanaſius; as propounded in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England; as eſtabliſhed in the liturgy; and further guarded by penal ſanctions in an act of parliament paſſed in the reign of William the third, is equally contrary to ſound reaſon and the holy ſcriptures. I am fully ſatisfied that in the divine nature there is no plurality of perſons; but that the almighty author of the univerſe is, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the expreſſion, ONE. And I think I have reaſon to believe, that the preſent openly avowed adherence of moſt eſtabliſhed churches to the contrary perſuaſion, which does not appear to be conformable to the ſentiments of chriſtians in the earlieſt and the pureſt ages of the church, is not only one of the moſt powerful obſtructions to the converſion of the mahometans and the jews; but is alſo an

almoſt

almoſt invincible objection to the cordial reception of the goſpel by many ſerious well-diſpoſed perſons, in every rank of life, and in every ſtate in chriſtendom.

Many worthy perſons, to whom the trinitarian doctrine appears utterly indefenſible, are yet inclined to believe, that the prayers of chriſtians may with propriety be directed to Jeſus Chriſt, and imagine that they may be vindicated in this practice by the command of their ſaviour, and the example of his apoſtles.

With the moſt perfect charity for thoſe who entertain theſe ſentiments, I profeſs myſelf to be of a different opinion. I am ſtedfaſtly perſuaded that the creator of the world; the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob, who is in the new Teſtament alſo ſtiled "the God and father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt," is therein repreſented as the only proper object of religious adoration.

I nevertheleſs acknowledge that a very high degree of reſpect and veneration is due to the character of Jeſus, as the anointed prophet of the moſt high, far excelling in dignity and power every prophet who preceded

ceded him. I honour him as the "ſon of God," in what appears to me the ſcripture acceptation of that term; as the common Lord of chriſtians; as the appointed judge of the living and the dead. But, at the ſame time, I am convinced, that the diſtance between him and deity is infinite; that prayer to him is no where commanded in the ſcriptures; and, conſequently, that the addreſſes of chriſtians may with the ſame propriety be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the perſon of our Lord.

Moſt of the clauſes of the litany, and ſome other prayers and invocations in the eſtabliſhed liturgy of the church of England, are immediately addreſſed to our ſaviour; and honour and glory are frequently aſcribed to the holy ſpirit, as to a divine agent, diſtinct from the perſon of the father; an idea, in my opinion, not warranted by the oracles of God.

While I held preferment, it certainly was my duty to officiate in the eſtabliſhed ſervice of the church. But, oppreſſed by the conſciouſneſs that my ſentiments, reſpecting the object of devotion, were diametrically oppoſed

oppoſed to thoſe doctrines, upon which her form of worſhip is founded, I have not been able, for ſome time paſt, to diſcharge this part of my function without great diſquiet. My anxiety hourly increaſed. I, therefore, at length found it neceſſary to embrace the only meaſure that ſeemed to promiſe me tranquillity. The event hath correſponded with my expectation. Having reſigned my preferment, and with it having diveſted myſelf of the character of a miniſter in the church of England, I have recovered that ſerenity of mind to which I had been long a ſtranger.

Having now explained the immediate motive of my reſignation with ſufficient preciſion, I turn to the conſideration of ſome other points, not wholly unconnected with the preſent ſubject.

Religious controverſy, in conſequence of the long prevalence of ſyſtem, appearing abſolutely neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of ſcriptural truth; and yet, through the heat and violence of the contending parties, being too frequently productive of diſſenſions, which diſſolve the bonds of chriſtian cha-

rity, it may poſſibly conduce to edification, if the following circumſtances be conſidered with a due attention.*

It will appear, I truſt, to every ſerious inquirer into the nature of our religion, that a perſon is ſtrictly entitled to the appellation of a chriſtian, when, believing in the divine miſſion of Jeſus, he explicitly declares that he ſubmits to his authority in every point of religious faith and doctrine; at the ſame time, expreſſing a ſincere diſpoſition to adorn his profeſſion by a ſuitable life and converſation.

With reſpect to the nature of the particular doctrines that are contained in the goſpel,

* It is painful to obſerve, that the preſent age has afforded a melancholy inſtance of this unchriſtian ſpirit, in the treatment, which the truly candid and very learned Mr. Lindſey has received from ſome of his opponents.

The worthy author of the "Remarks on Mr. Burgh's ſcriptural confutation" has, in his "Addenda" to that tract, ably rebuked this illiberal ſpirit; and, in both his publications, has evinced, by a train of reaſoning which appears to me irreſiſtible, the inconcluſiveneſs of the various objections urged againſt thoſe ſubſtantial arguments, which are advanced in the "Apology" in favour of the proper unity of God.

goſpel, it ſhould be eſteemed as a fundamental principle of proteſtantiſm, that every chriſtian is poſſeſſed of an indefeaſible right of judging for himſelf, and of avowing that judgment, in whatever manner he thinks proper. He is to receive the comments of learned perſons, the deciſions of churches, the decrees of councils, not as authorities, but as helps, if it may ſo chance, to his more ready comprehenſion of the word of God. Where he imagines theſe interpretations to be juſt, he admits them, becauſe his own underſtanding, aided by ſound criticiſm, approves them. Where he conceives them to be erroneous, conſcious of his intire right to interpret for himſelf, he rejects them; and if he apprehends that the ſubject is of ſufficient importance, uniting the ſpirit of a Luther with the mildneſs of a Melancthon, he controverts them openly, though countenanced by the concurrent approbation of whole generations of men, and eſtabliſhed by the civil inſtitutions of his country.

The right, which the proteſtant claims for himſelf, he permits to be exerciſed by

others, in the fulleſt latitude. He treats the perſons of his brethren, however differing in ſentiment from himſelf, with that reſpect and unabated affection, which their ſtation, or his own connection with them demands: And, in caſes of controverſy, he conſiders their opinions, and the arguments by which they are ſupported, with becoming candour.

Juſtly ſenſible, that the right of worſhipping the great creator, according to that ſpecific ceremonial, which the conſcience of each man ſhall approve, is a right inherent in our common nature, is ſuperior to the control of laws, and prior to the very exiſtence of civil ſociety, he extends the principle of chriſtian toleration not only to all ſects and ſubdiviſions of chriſtians, but even beyond the profeſſion of chriſtianity itſelf. If he acknowledges, that the majority may appropriate a portion of the revenue of a ſtate to the ſupport of a national form of public worſhip, he maintains, that ſuch form ſhould be as comprehenſive as poſſible, and that ſuch appropriation is the utmoſt limit of their lawful power; condemning, as equally intolerant and unwiſe, the too general

general practice of confining the enjoyment of various civil privileges, within the pale of a particular communion; and contending, in conformity with the dictates of right reason and the fundamental principles of the ſocial compact, that every perſon in the community, who preſerves inviolate that common bond of allegiance, which is the evidence of the union of its members, ought to be continued, whatever may be his perſuaſion in matters of a merely religious nature, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his right of riſing to the attainment of every honour or emolument, to which his honeſt induſtry, the favour of his fellow-citizens, or royal inclination can exalt him.

If the religion, thus eſtabliſhed, be declared to be chriſtian and proteſtant, he contends that the Bible, and the Bible only, ought to be conſidered as an all-ſufficient directory to the preacher, in his diſcourſes from the pulpit: and eſteems every inſtitution, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, as an high violation of the original charter of chriſtians, which requires a declaration of aſſent to any other teſt of orthodoxy, as a

neceſſary qualification for the office of a teacher in the church of Chriſt.

He is perſuaded, that the love of God and the love of man, form the ſum and ſubſtance of all true religion. He venerates the amiable form of truth. He is ſenſible that every material error, reſpecting the object of religion, is attended with pernicious conſequences; and, therefore, endeavours to exhibit the doctrine of the goſpel in its primæval purity. Yet, conſcious of the frailties of our common nature, and reflecting, that on account of the unjuſtifiable animoſities among chriſtians about articles, falſely ſuppoſed to be eſſential to ſalvation,* the ſacred name of religion is often itſelf profaned, he ſedulouſly maintains, that thoſe perſons, who, in the integrity of their hearts, and

* The following texts, attentively conſidered, will, I truſt, ſufficiently evince, that Jeſus claimed or was entitled to the attention of mankind, not from the inherent dignity of his nature, but from the atteſted excellence of his delegated office, viz. Mat. ix. 8. Lu. iv. 18. 21. xi. 20. Jo. v. 19—24. 30. 36. viii. 26. 28. 29. xii. 23. xvii. 1. 2. 3. Acts ii. 22. 23. 24. 36. x. 38. 40. xiii. 23. 30. xvii. 30. 31. 2 Cor. v. 18. 19. &c. &c.

and after due inquiry, embrace the athanaſian, the arian, the ſocinian, or any other ſyſtem, with reſpect to the perſon of our ſaviour, or the particular tendency of his ſufferings to promote the ſalvation of mankind, may equally be perſuaded of the divine authority of the goſpel; equally diſpoſed to teſtify an unreſerved obedience to its doctrines; and, by juſt conſequence, if equally exemplary in the diſcharge of every chriſtian duty, will equally be entitled to reward.

It might perhaps be eſteemed more methodical, if I prefaced the following reflections upon the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, with a repreſentation of the neceſſary connection between the belief of chriſtianity, and the practice of every ſocial virtue. But the natural tendency of the religion of the goſpel to correct that ſelfiſh ſpirit, from which every diſorder flows in public and in private life, has been ſo ably ſhewn by divines of all perſuaſions, that I ſhall not employ my own time, or treſpaſs on my readers patience, by the demonſtration of ſo clear a point.

It may not, however, be improper to hint, that the outward pomp and ſplendour of religious eſtabliſhments, attended with the ſolemn affectation of myſtery, which more or leſs prevails in moſt of them, are ſeldom productive of any ſalutary effects to the real intereſts of the human race. It is only when the vital principle of manly piety, generated by a ſerious attention to the doctrines of an intelligible religion, is deeply ſeated in the well-informed mind, that we can expect the growth of thoſe generous virtues, which diffuſe harmony and joy over every ſcene of ſocial life, or the prevalence of that faith, which overcometh the world.

At a period, when each leſs valuable mode of ſcience is rapidly progreſſive, the ſtate of ſcriptural knowledge appears to be very imperfect; although we are poſſeſſed of every eſſential requiſite to its improvement.

That we are at this hour, in a great meaſure, involved in the gloom of monkiſh ignorance, is highly probable from the endleſs diſputations among chriſtians, upon points eſteemed fundamental; and from the manner

ner in which we generally conduct ourſelves in the inveſtigation of religious truth.

The inquirer into the credenda, contained in the goſpel, reſembles the inquirer into the fundamental laws of nature, before a better philoſophy had taught us the vanity of ſyſtem, and inclined us to adopt the humbler proceſs of experiment.

We begin our reſearches in theology with the aſſumption of a certain ſet of religious tenets, and frequently employ the moſt valuable of thoſe hours which we deſtine to ſacred ſtudy, in collecting arguments in their favour, and in vain endeavours to explain them; while every text of ſcripture is, in its turn, perverted from its obvious meaning, in order to ſupport them.

How much more reaſonable, previouſly to inveſtigate, with patience and critical attention, the ſenſe of each particular text or paſſage, in the natural order of the writer, and to defer the formation of opinion, until, like a principle of ſound philoſophy, ſuggeſted by a numerous train of experiments, it forces itſelf with accumulated evidence on the yielding mind!

It is ſolely owing to the prepoſterous method of inquiry, above deſcribed, that the holy records of our faith have, very injuriouſly, been ſuppoſed to be ſo looſely worded, as, in fact, to countenance oppoſite opinions, and to juſtify the moſt fantaſtic doctrines.

But let us for a moment reflect, and let the reflection teach us wiſdom, that the ſame phænomena of nature, which were brought in evidence of the figments of remote antiquity, were alſo applied to ſupport the equally vain hypotheſes of more modern times. The laws of the material world, in conſequence of the introduction of a better method of inveſtigation, are, however, now demonſtrated to be conſiſtent, ſimple, and invariable, affording a juſt and eaſy explication of every natural appearance. If a ſimilar proceſs be obſerved, ſimilar ſucceſs may reaſonably be expected to be our reward, when we explore the ſacred ſources of religious truth.

That unity of ſentiment, reſpecting the leading truths of revelation, which is the natural reſult of a ſober and unbiaſſed ſearch, conducted under the influence of the chriſtian

tian graces, leads to unity of religious worſhip; and unity of worſhip, thus circumſtanced, to chriſtian peace.*

I cloſe theſe pages with my letter to my late dioceſan.

To the right rev. the biſhop of Norwich.

(Copy.)

MY LORD,

I think it proper to give you this previous information, that I propoſe to reſign the rectory of Homersfield and vicarage of Flixton, into your lordſhip's hands, upon the 29th or 30th of the preſent month (September.)

As the motives which induce me to embrace

* In this progreſs, from the inveſtigation of ſcriptural truth to its final conſequence, the eſtabliſhment of chriſtian peace, it appears to me to be eſſentially neceſſary, that an open avowal of our perſuaſion ſhould accompany a change of ſentiment in every inſtance of importance, more eſpecially in that conſequential article, the object of religious worſhip. And, therefore, I cannot but highly approve the general principle, on which Mr. Lindſey's plan of a reformed liturgy is founded, as well as that particular ceremonial, which he has given to the public, and continues to conduct with ſo much propriety and ſucceſs.

brace this reſolution, may poſſibly be miſconſtrued, it will not, I truſt, be thought impertinent, if I ſtate them to your lordſhip.

In the firſt place, I think it neceſſary to aſſure your lordſhip, that, although I eſteemed it to be my duty to take an active part in the late petition of the clergy, the principles maintained in that juſt remonſtrance, do not, in my apprehenſion, appear to lay me under any obligation to relinquiſh my preſent ſtation.

The author of the "Confeſſional," my lord, had convinced me of the unlawfulneſs and inexpediency of requiring a ſubſcription to ſyſtematic articles of faith and doctrine, from the teachers of the goſpel in a proteſtant church.

My own obſervation, in the univerſity of Cambridge, further tended to ſatisfy me with reſpect to the impropriety of ſuch a requiſition: and the viſible neglect of the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, in this age and country, ſeemed, in a great meaſure, to be derived from that reſtraint of the exerciſe of private judgment, which is the unavoidable conſequence of this unedifying impoſition.

With

With theſe convictions, it was impoſſible for me to decline engaging with thoſe diſtinguiſhed friends of religious liberty, who aſſociated for the purpoſe of ſolliciting, for themſelves and their brethren of the church of England, an exemption from the obligation of declaring or ſubſcribing their aſſent to any formulary of doctrine, which ſhould be propoſed as explanatory of the word of God.

It appeared to me, to be a ſufficient reaſon for ſuch application, that the doctrines, contained in the thirty-nine articles, being the deductions of frail and fallible men, and expreſſed in unſcriptural terms, were eſſentially differenced, in point of authority, from thoſe holy ſcriptures, to which we have profeſſed an abſolute and unreſerved ſubmiſſion, as the only rule of religious faith and practice; and that the requiſition of aſſent to them was, eventually, ſubverſive of the right of private judgment; a right, on which every proteſtant church was founded, and, the exerciſe of which, our own church, in particular, in one of her forms of ordination, not only allows us, but injoins.

It

It alſo appeared evident to me, that the inquiry, whether or no the thirty-nine articles expreſs the genuine ſenſe of ſcripture, was a queſtion of a very different nature from that, to which the petitioners invited the attention of their brethren; that perſons of the moſt oppoſite opinions, with reſpect to the doctrine of the articles, might unite in a declaration, that every attempt to effect an uniformity of ſentiment concerning the ſenſe of ſcripture, by other means than the force of argument, and rational conviction, was utterly unwarrantable, and bore too ſtriking a reſemblance to that ſpirit of intolerance, which forms the diſtinguiſhing character of anti-chriſtian Rome: and, laſtly, that many members of our church might be truly ſenſible of the inexpediency of requiring this ſubſcription; might addreſs a competent tribunal with a view of effecting an abolition of the practice, and yet continue to hold and to accept preferment, without violating the dictates of conſcience, and with great advantage to the chriſtian cauſe.

My objections, my lord, to the accepting and the holding of preferment in the church

church of England, bear no relation to the cauſe of the petitioning clergy; the reaſons which influenced me in the forming of the reſolution, now communicated to your lordſhip, are intirely my own.

After the moſt ſerious and diſpaſſionate inquiry, I am perſuaded, my lord, from the concurrent teſtimony of reaſon and revelation, that the ſupreme cauſe of all things, is, not merely in eſſence, but alſo in perſon, ONE.

By the force of the ſame evidence I am convinced, that this almighty power is the only proper object of religion.

The liturgy of the church of England is obviouſly founded upon the idea, that in the divine nature is a trinity of perſons, to each of which every ſpecies of religious adoration is addreſſed, as well as ſuch powers aſcribed, as are the incommunicable attributes of God.

Under my perſuaſion of the erroneouſneſs of this doctrine, I cannot any longer, with ſatisfaction to myſelf, officiate in the eſtabliſhed ſervice: and, as I certainly can have no claim to the emoluments of my profeſſion

profeſſion, unleſs I am willing to perform the duties of it, I, therefore, reſign my preferment.

But, my lord, although I find myſelf under an obligation to relinquiſh my preſent ſtation in the church of England, I do not renounce the profeſſion of a chriſtian. On the contrary, penetrated by the cleareſt convictions of the high importance, and divine authority of the goſpel, I will labour to promote the advancement of ſcriptural knowledge with increaſing zeal; and will ever be ready to unite, with heart and hand, in any juſt and legal attempt to remove the burthen of ſubſcription to human formularies, which I eſteem one of the moſt powerful obſtructions to its progreſs.

I remain, &c.

AN ANSWER TO THE AUTHOR OF "A LETTER TO THE REV. MR. JEBB, WITH RELATION TO HIS DECLARED SENTIMENTS ABOUT THE UNLAWFULNESS OF ALL RELIGIOUS ADDRESSES TO CHRIST JESUS."

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXIX.
AS A POSTSCRIPT TO MR. LINDSEY'S
"TWO DISSERTATIONS, ON THE
PREFACE TO SAINT JOHN'S GOSPEL;
AND PRAYING TO JESUS CHRIST."

TO THE AUTHOR OF "A LETTER," &c.

SIR,

IN the firſt page of your preface, you take notice, that having been accuſtomed to conſider religious addreſſes unto Chriſt, as founded on the new Teſtament, you eſteemed it to be incumbent on you, after reading my poſitive denial of their lawfulneſs, "to examine the grounds upon which I reſted the vindication of that aſſertion;" and proceed to obſerve, that "I had referred my readers to Mr. Lindſey's book, as containing unanſwerable reaſoning on this ſubject."

In your table of contents you aſſert, that "Dr. Jebb expreſsly condemns all religious addreſſes to Jeſus Chriſt, and refers his readers to Mr. Lindſey's Apology, for the proof thereof." In page the ſecond of your letter, after quoting the following words from my pamphlet: viz. "I am convinced that the addreſſes of chriſtians, may, with the ſame

propriety, be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the perſon of our Lord;" you proceed to ſay, "that I refer my readers to Mr. Lindſey," who hath laboured at great length to prove, that prayer to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is not authoriſed in the writings of the new Teſtament; and you declare your intention of examining what he has advanced upon this ſubject, in the ſame order in which he hath propoſed it, for the purpoſe of trying whether it is ſufficient to juſtify the concluſion I have drawn thence.

This examination is compriſed in the following pages, to the 55th incluſive. In the 56th, which is the laſt page but one of your letter, you write as follows: "To conclude then, if my interpretation of the places in ſcripture be right, it follows, ſir, that your poſition 'that the addreſſes of chriſtians may, with the ſame propriety, be directed to the virgin Mary, as to the perſon of our Lord,' is far from being true."

With reſpect to the preceding paſſages, I truſt it will be eſteemed ſufficient for me to obſerve, that all theſe aſſertions, and concluſions, proceeding upon the idea of my having

having actually referred my readers to Mr. Lindsey's publication for a proof of my position, are absolutely destitute of all foundation.

My pamphlet may easily be obtained. I appeal from your assertions to the book itself. My declaration, respecting the propriety of addressing prayer to Christ Jesus, will be found as you have quoted it, but without a single word of reference to Mr. Lindsey, or to any other person.

The proper unity of God, and the unlawfulness of addressing prayer to Christ Jesus, are very different questions. The great Socinus very ably defended the former question, and, at the same time, attempted to refute the arguments of Franciscus Davides, who maintained the latter. I have spoken with approbation of Mr. Lindsey's arguments, respecting the proper unity of God, but have not referred to, or declared either my approbation or disapprobation of his reasonings, respecting the impropriety of religious addresses unto Christ. The design of my publication has been intirely misapprehended. Upon re-perusing of it, you may

perceive, that it was not my intention to engage in controverſy, but chiefly to aſſign the reaſons, which induced me to relinquiſh my ſtation in the church of England. I declared that I reſigned my preferment becauſe I held opinions diametrically oppoſite to thoſe, on which the eſtabliſhed form of public worſhip is founded. I declared and unfolded theſe opinions without reſerve; but this circumſtance laid me under no kind of obligation to maintain them by argument: my private perſuaſion of their truth was a ſufficient reaſon for my conduct.

But had it been my intention to enter into the principles, upon which my opinion reſpecting the point in queſtion is founded, it is not probable, that I ſhould have contented myſelf with referring to Mr. Lindſey's publication, however highly I approve his arguments, and reſpect his authority. I ſhould alſo have thought it my duty to have endeavoured to eſtabliſh the truth of ſo important a poſition by ſuch deductions, as at leaſt would have convinced my readers, that I had not taken up my opinion without ſome reflection on the ſubject; and ſhould unqueſ-

unqueſtionably have referred, perhaps very largely, to thoſe paſſages in the ſacred writings, which, in my apprehenſion, would enable my readers to determine the queſtion for themſelves. It has long been my perſuaſion, that we pay too much deference to the opinions of men, reſpecting religion; and too little to the word of God, from which alone all our ideas reſpecting the goſpel ought to be deduced. In the lectures I gave upon the evangeliſts, during my reſidence at Cambridge, I always endeavoured to convince my pupils, that it was their duty to make as much uſe as poſſible of their own reaſon, when employed in exploring the genuine ſenſe of ſcripture. Not that I would preſume myſelf, or would adviſe others to reject the lights, which the labours of learned men, engaged in the ſame purſuit, from time to time, have holden forth to us; on the contrary, I think it neceſſary to avail ourſelves of every aſſiſtance we can procure, but, at the ſame time, I would always preſs the uſe of private judgment; by which I would be underſtood to mean, the exerciſe of a judgment intirely

unbiaſſed by authority, and free from every kind of prejudice, ſuch as becomes every man, in a caſe, which to every man is of private concern.

This freedom of the mind, from the exertion of which the moſt glorious conſequences would be derived to ſociety, I hold to be eſſential in conſtituting the character of a true proteſtant. The invaſion of it, by any human authority, how reſpectable ſoever, I eſteem as an outrage againſt the majeſty of heaven; as it tends to deprive the almighty of the proper homage of his creatures. I have contended, and to the lateſt hour of my life will contend for its eſtabliſhment, in its moſt unlimited extent; and I proteſt againſt the ungenerous policy, which at the preſent moment, under pretence of zeal for the intereſts of chriſtianity, really aims at eſtabliſhing the empire of the magiſtrate over conſcience, and of thereby ſubjecting the nobleſt faculties, and endowments of our nature, to the luſt of lawleſs power, the moſt baneful paſſion of our frame.

But at the ſame time that I think it incumbent upon me, to correct the falſe conception

ception you have entertained of the deſign of my pamphlet; I do alſo think it my duty to aſſure you, that it is not on account of any diffidence in Mr. Lindſey's abilities, or diſapprobation of his argument, that I decline being a party in the controverſy, which he ſuſtains with ſo great advantage, to what I eſteem the cauſe of genuine chriſtianity, and with ſo much honour to himſelf. I am engaged in the ſtudies and the duties of a profeſſion, which demand my utmoſt attention. In ſuch circumſtances, it will not be expected, by any reaſonable man, that I ſhould enter upon thoſe arguments, which have induced me to embrace my preſent opinions on this ſubject; but I will never decline any proper opportunity of declaring them, as I always have eſteemed an open avowal of our religious perſuaſions, to be the indiſpenſable duty of a chriſtian and a proteſtant.

You mention, that at the time of writing your letter, you had read only Mr. Lindſey's Apology; you poſſibly, ſince that period, have ſeen his Sequel. I truſt, that your candour will induce you attentively to peruſe the pre-

preceding pages of this work, in which the point of the lawfulneſs of religious addreſſes to Chriſt Jeſus is ſtill farther debated. If you wiſh to know my opinion on the ſubject, as the opinion of a private perſon not involved, and who means not, at preſent, to involve himſelf in the controverſy, I will freely own, that I intirely aſſent, both in general and particular, to the arguments, by which Mr. Lindſey eſtabliſhes the proper unity of God, as well as to thoſe, by which he demonſtrates the offering of addreſſes to Chriſt Jeſus to be deſtitute of all ſcriptural foundation; and that, notwithſtanding what yourſelf, and other opponents have objected, I am perſuaded he has ſufficiently, and very ably proved theſe points.

At the ſame time that I make this voluntary declaration of my ſentiments, reſpecting Mr. Lindſey's publications, I with great willingneſs give my tribute of praiſe to the zeal which yourſelf, and another of my correſpondents, the rev. Mr. Tew, have manifeſted for what appears to you to be the cauſe of truth. I reſpect the learning

and

and the abilities of both. I honour you for your ſentiments, reſpecting the unalienable rights of chriſtians; for your candour to the perſons of your opponents; and I am under obligations to you both for expreſſions of good will, and of civility to myſelf.

I am, ſir,

your obedient Servant,

Craven-Street,
April 22, 1779.

JOHN JEBB.

A SKETCH OF THE PLAN OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCRIPTURES.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXXIII.

A SKETCH OF THE PLAN, &c.

As it appears to be a point of ſome importance, that the ſpecific deſign of the ſociety ſhould be perfectly comprehended, it may not be improper to requeſt the attention of their future correſpondents to the following circumſtances.

To impreſs the human heart with juſt affections reſpecting the almighty, and our fellow-creatures; to animate us in the performance of our duty; and to qualify us for the enjoyment of ſubſtantial happineſs, if not always in the preſent, yet moſt aſſuredly in a future ſcene, are the great ends and objects of religion: and conſtitute the characteriſtic excellence of the chriſtian inſtitution.

And whenever that truly rational ſyſtem of faith and practice, which is unfolded in the ſcriptures, ſhall be profeſſed in its primæval purity; when the piety and benevolence which they inculcate, ſhall become vital

vital principles of action and generally prevail, the ſalutary effects they will produce, both upon individuals and communities, will add evidence irreſiſtible to the divine authority of the goſpel; and, at the ſame time that they diffuſe harmony and peace over every ſcene of ſocial life, will enable us with grateful hearts to fix our hopes of happineſs on a foundation, which the calamities and temptations incident to humanity will aſſail in vain.

It perhaps is in a great meaſure owing to an injudicious, and indeed prepoſterous method of inquiry into the doctrine of the ſcriptures, that the divine revelation, therein contained, hath been ſo partially acknowledged as the guide of human life.

It has been too much the practice of thoſe members of the chriſtian church, to whom the office of inſtruction has been delegated, to direct the attention of mankind to certain tenets of religion, which the authority of former ages, rather than the deciſions of their unbiaſſed judgment, had taught them to reſpect as fundamental; to commence

their own reſearches with an aſſumption of their truth; and to employ their learned labours in what proved, very frequently, a vain attempt to eſtabliſh their conformity to holy writ.

Such was the proceſs of ancient philoſophy in its unſucceſsful efforts to unfold the laws of the viſible creation; to explain the works of God.

A theory, or an hypotheſis, framed by human fancy, anticipated what ought to have been the reſult of a laborious inveſtigation into fact.

But when, aſcending with ſteady ſtep from each well-eſtabliſhed obſervation, human induſtry reverſed the former proceſs, and the concluſion flowed from experiment as its only proper ſource, truth diſcloſed itſelf to the enraptured underſtanding in its genuine ſimplicity; and, the laws and ordinances ſtood revealed, which the great creator had impoſed upon the larger maſſes of material being, when he conſtructed the ſtupendous fabric of the world.

Let ſimilar wiſdom direct our movements, and ſimilar ſucceſs may be expected, when,

with that humility and patient attention, which ſhould ever accompany ſuch reſearches, our labours are employed in the inveſtigation of religious truth.

The word of God, revealed in the ſcriptures of both Teſtaments, like the book of nature, lies open to us all; like the laws of nature, the doctrines of revelation may be conceived to be, at once, both ſimple and ſublime; ſufficient to affect the improved mind with wonder and delight, yet ſuch as the moſt unlettered underſtanding may apprehend with facility, when the cloud of human prejudices, which has ſo long obſcured the heavenly light of truth, ſhall be totally withdrawn.

The ſociety preſumes, that it will aſſiſt in the removal of theſe prejudices, and, at the ſame time, tend to inform the mind of the true believer with juſt and proper ſentiments of the benevolence of the great creator, exhibited in the goſpel, that laſt, beſt gift of God to man, if the friends to religious inquiry be invited ſedulouſly to purſue, what may not unaptly be termed, the

" analytic"

" analytic" mode of inquiry, into the genuine doctrines of the ſcriptures.

Inſtead of aſſuming a poſition, and attempting a demonſtration of its truth, by authorities from ſcripture, which bears a reſemblance to the " ſynthetic" method in philoſophy, they would propoſe to invert the proceſs, by previouſly eſtabliſhing the genuine ſenſe of thoſe authorities, which may have been brought in evidence of the doctrine propoſed.

An inſtance may aſſiſt in explaining their idea.

Let us ſuppoſe it was the deſign of a writer to treat upon the terms of a man's final acceptance with the almighty.

Such writer would probably ſtate his own opinion in definite terms; and, after attempting by argument to evince the abſurdity of the contrary ſentiment, would proceed to eſtabliſh the juſtneſs of his own, by authorities from holy writ.

The advocate for the oppoſite opinion would probably proceed in a ſimilar manner; he would attempt to eſtabliſh its conformity to reaſon; and would endeavour to

refute the arguments of his opponent, appealing alſo, where he ſaw occaſion, to authorities from ſcripture.

If both parties were agreed with reſpect to the import of theſe authorities, and fairly cited whatever in the original record related to the argument, the debate would ſoon be terminated. But the experience of ages bears teſtimony that the contrary is the fact: each party in the diſpute controverting the interpretation impoſed by his adverſary, and, with pertinacity, adhering to his own.

The unedifying altercation is alſo frequently prolonged, by an imperfect recital of the paſſages, which are ſuppoſed to bear an immediate reference to the ſubject of debate; and, by a ſeries of arguments, depending upon the ſenſe of particular words and detached ſentences; little or no attention being obſerved, in the quotation of theſe authorities, to the general import of the context.

In ſuch circumſtances, it is not wonderful that prejudice ſhould alternately exert a forcible, though latent power, over the minds of the opponent parties, and that the genuine

genuine doctrine of revelation ſhould frequently elude the moſt laborious reſearches of them both.

Let us now ſuppoſe, that before the mind is warped in favour of any ſpecific opinion, or warmed with controverſy, we ſit down to inveſtigate the ſenſe of a paſſage of ſcripture, with the ſame calm and compoſed temper, with which we examine a paſſage in a greek or roman claſſic, whoſe genuine ſenſe we are ſtudious to explore.

Unblinded by ſyſtem, and exempt from every ſpecies of prejudice, we, without partiality, avail ourſelves of all thoſe lights of criticiſm, which the learned labours of others, as well as our own unbiaſſed judgment may afford; and a clear conception of the one true meaning of the author ſoon rewards our toils.

Were this our invariable proceſs in the expoſition of the ſacred page, a paſſage once elucidated and explained by thoſe aids, which the preſent age enjoys in ſuch ſuperior meaſure, like a well-eſtabliſhed experiment in philoſophy, might be appealed to with confidence; its recital would have the force of

legal evidence in the pleadings of the opponent parties; and, it could no longer be employed in the ſupport of thoſe baſeleſs fabrics of divinity, which have ſo frequently diſhonoured the chriſtian name.

We will now proceed more particularly to ſtate that method of advancing ſcriptural knowledge, which we would wiſh to recommend.

Let us ſuppoſe a portion of a prophet, an evangeliſt, or other ſacred writer to be choſen, which contains an incident, an admonition, or an argument, in ſome meaſure detached from the ſubſequent and preceding parts of ſcripture. The twenty-ſecond chapter of Geneſis, from the firſt verſe to the nineteenth incluſive; the twenty-third chapter of Iſaiah; the ſeventeenth chapter of St. John's goſpel; the firſt ten verſes of the thirteenth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans; the fifteenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, may be propoſed as ſpecimens of ſuch detached portions.

The commentator upon ſuch paſſages would probably think it expedient, in the firſt

firſt place, to inquire into thoſe preceding incidents, and concommitant circumſtances, of which it may appear neceſſary to form a juſt conception, before he enters upon an explanation of the purport of ſentences and words.

Preliminaries being diſcuſſed, if any various readings worthy of attention ſhould be noticed, the expoſitor may think it proper, by the means of thoſe aſſiſtances, which Kennicott, Mill, Bengelius, or Wetſtein may afford, to ſupport the received reading, or eſtabliſh ſuch alteration in the text, as the rules of ſound criticiſm ſhall ſuggeſt.

An accurate tranſlation of the paſſage, with proper diviſions into paragraphs or ſentences, pointed with the utmoſt correctneſs poſſible, would greatly tend to the information and improvement of the learned, as well as the unlearned reader.

The exhibiting of a ſummary idea of the import of each paragraph, in a well-digeſted commentary, in the manner of biſhop Hurd upon Horace's epiſtles to Auguſtus and the Piſo's, would afford further aſſiſtance to the inquirer into ſcripture-truth; the

ſenſe of each paragraph being confirmed by references to other parts of ſcripture, where the ſame or a ſimilar ſubject is diſcuſſed.

Notes critical and philological, and explanatory of alluſions to rites and cuſtoms, and hiſtorical facts, with ſuch references to ſcripture, as tend to explain the peculiar phraſeology, may follow next in order.

Laſtly, ſuch concluſions, doctrinal and moral, as appear of ſufficient importance, and are deducible by juſt inference from the paſſage in queſtion, may, with great advantage, cloſe the work.

It may poſſibly be urged, that the ſame or a ſimilar proceſs has already been adopted by many commentators upon ſcripture.

But it is preſumed, that it is one thing to write a continued commentary upon ſcripture; another, to comment upon a detached portion of ſcripture, in the manner which has now been hinted. In a general commentary, thoſe preliminary circumſtances, on which the juſt comprehenſion of the paſſage ſo much depends, would interfere with the execution of the author's purpoſe; who, inſtead of commenting upon ſeparate paſſages, proceeds

proceeds in a regular tenor to comment upon verſicles and words; the general import being, frequently, incompletely noticed, and, conſequently, the verſicles and words themſelves imperfectly underſtood, if not erroneouſly explained.

Although it appears neceſſary, in explaining the intentions of the ſociety, to delineate that form of compoſition, which they conceive would moſt effectually promote the knowledge of the ſcriptures; yet, it is by no means their intention to require a rigid conformity to any ſpecific model, from their future correſpondents. On the contrary, they will gladly admit ſuch tracts, as proceed upon a leſs extenſive plan, provided it be evidently the direct and primary intention of the author to elucidate the ſacred text. Eſſays, written profeſſedly in ſupport of particular tenets and forms of doctrine, are liable to the objections ſtated in the preceding pages: but every communication of the friends of revelation, which tends to the advancement of ſcriptural knowledge, whether it affords an explanation of a rite or ceremony; of an alluſion to the manners and principles of the

age;

age; of a point of civil hiſtory, or, of a ſingle ſentence or expreſſion contained in the bible, will be received with thankfulneſs, as intirely coinciding with their purpoſe.

The right of private judgment in religious concernments, and of worſhipping the great creator as our reaſon and our conſcience ſhall approve, cannot be invaded, upon any pretence whatever, without injury; nor, without impiety, reſigned. In a country, profeſſedly chriſtian, improvement in ſcriptural knowledge, with the conſequent practice of every divine and ſocial virtue, may be expected to flouriſh or decreaſe, in proportion as theſe rights are more or leſs extenſively enjoyed. It is, therefore, the purpoſe alſo of the preſent inſtitution to aſſiſt in the circulation of ſuch tracts, as vindicate to every member of the community the enjoyment of theſe invaluable privileges, in their unlimited extent: the ſociety being firmly perſuaded, that to employ our nobleſt faculty upon its nobleſt object; our powers of reaſon upon religion, is, at once, the unalienable right; the higheſt praiſe; and the primary obligation of man.

In

In the proſecution of theſe deſigns, the laity and clergy of every denomination and deſcription are immediately intereſted; and every pious perſon, according to the talent with which heaven hath intruſted him, however private may be his ſituation, may occaſionally aſſiſt, either by his communications, or his ſupport.

The buſineſs of the ſociety will be tranſacted in the metropolis, in conformity to its rules and regulations; but much vigour and effect may be afforded to their labours by their diſtant members and other correſpondents. By their concurring endeavours, the ſociety will acquire ſtability and ſtrength; and their attempts to illuſtrate the ſacred writers be productive, it is hoped, of happy conſequences to the general intereſts of truth and virtue.

Influenced by theſe motives, and not without hope of the general countenance and ſupport of ſerious and liberal-minded chriſtians, it is the intention of the ſociety to publiſh ſuch original papers, explanatory of the ſcriptures, and alſo in vindication of the right of free inquiry and of private judgment, correſpondent to the ſcheme of their

their inſtitution, as ſhall be communicated and approved.

With the ſame views, it is another part of the deſign of the ſociety, to reprint ſuch tracts or papers, upon theſe important ſubjects, as ſhall be thought worthy of renewed attention; and which, from the diſtance of the time of their original publication, or from the ſcarcity of the books wherein they are to be found, may eſcape the notice of perſons who would principally be benefited by them.

In both caſes, however, they propoſe, invariably to abide by the ſpecific deſcription of their plan, contained in the form of inſtitution.*

It is recommended to thoſe who may be diſpoſed to tranſmit any papers to the ſociety, and, at the ſame time, inclined to withhold their names from the public, to adopt ſome ſignature ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing, according as their own diſcretion ſhall ſuggeſt.

In

[* The form of the ſociety's inſtitution is as follows.

Eſſex-houſe, Monday Sept. 29, 1783.

"IT appears to the perſons here preſent, that a SOCIETY, inſtituted FOR PROMOTING THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SCRIPTURES, would be very ſeaſonable at this time, and anſwer many valuable and excellent purpoſes.

In

In the mode of publication, the ſociety do not intend to confine themſelves to time, or quantity of letter-preſs, as is the caſe in regular periodical publications; but to publiſh, occaſionally, in ſucceſſive numbers, and at irregular intervals, ſuch papers as ſhall have been approved; without obſerving any other order or preference than the time of their communication.

The expenſe of printing will be defrayed by the ſociety, and their publications will be circulated by the members in ſuch manner, as each ſhall judge moſt conducive to the ſucceſs of the ſociety's deſign. In aid, however, of this part of their plan, which might otherwiſe be limited in its operation, they purpoſe to comply with the ordinary method obſerved in literary publications, and to direct their papers to be ſold by their bookſeller.

In conſequence of ſuch perſuaſion, We, whoſe names are underwritten, do accordingly conſtitute ourſelves A Society for maintaining the right of free inquiry and of private judgment in religious matters; and for receiving and circulating critical and philological tracts, explanatory of the books of the old and new Teſtament."]

REMARKS
UPON THE
PRESENT MODE OF EDUCATION
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE:
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A PROPOSAL FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXII.
NOW RE-PRINTED
FROM THE FOURTH EDITION,
MDCCLXXIV.

TO

HIS GRACE

AUGUSTUS-HENRY DUKE OF GRAFTON,

CHANCELLOR,

AND TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP EARL OF HARDWICKE,

HIGH-STEWARD,

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THE FOLLOWING

REMARKS

ARE,

WITH ALL RESPECT AND DEFERENCE,

INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR.

Επιζηλωτος δε τινος τινα δει μανθανειν τως παιδας, ταυτα ειπεν [Αγησιλαος] ὁις και ανδρες γενομενοι χρησονται.

PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. Lacon.

"I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform juſtly, ſkilfully, and magnanimouſly, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

MILTON.

My intention, in this little tract, is to offer my ſentiments upon the courſe of ſtudy, preſcribed to the candidate for the firſt degree in arts by the cuſtom of our univerſity; and to ſuggeſt, what appears to me, a practicable ſcheme for its improvement.

In the proſecution of my purpoſe, I do not think it neceſſary to begin with developing the primary deſign of our anceſtors in academical foundations; nor ſhall I treſpaſs upon my reader's patience by an inquiry, how far change of circumſtances, and ſeaſons, may convey to us a right of departing from the traditionary forms of education, in theſe ſeats of literature: I ſhall ſuppoſe, according to the general idea, that they ought to be conſidered as ſeminaries for the information of youth in thoſe ſtudies, which have a tendency to fit them for the various ſcenes of ſocial life; and ſhall therefore conclude, if the plan, at preſent purſued in our univerſities, ſhould, upon due conſideration, appear to be materially defective, that there is, ſomewhere or other,

lodged a power of introducing ſuch regulations, as may enable them more fully to anſwer the primary purpoſes of their eſtabliſhment.

Whether the emendation, propoſed in the following pages, be expedient in our preſent circumſtances, is the queſtion, which is now, with all humility, ſubmitted to the judgment of the public; and this upon the preſumption, that the public is intereſted in its deciſion. It is only requeſted, that, if any ſentiments occur in the progreſs of my argument, which ſhall be thought offenſive, it may be attentively and diſpaſſionately conſidered, whether they are not juſtly founded, and whether they do not immediately ariſe from the nature of the ſubject now before us.

The diſcharge of my duty in the office of moderator, to which I was five times called by the voice of the univerſity, together with my engagements as a tutor, for the ſpace of more than fifteen years, have been the occaſion of my affording a more than ordinary degree of attention to the various parts of our academical courſe; and, therefore, I truſt, I may

I may preſume ſo far upon my knowledge of our form of literary diſcipline, and my acquaintance with the movements of the youthful mind, as to hint, what appears to me exceptionable in our preſent ſyſtem of education, and to ſuggeſt the model of an inſtitution, in my idea, approaching nearer to perfection. In the diſcuſſion of this queſtion, the voice of calumny, the effuſions of illiberal reſentment, ſhall paſs unnoticed. But if the objections, which may poſſibly be urged againſt the offered ſcheme of improvement, ſhall be propoſed in the ſpirit of candour, they ſhall be replied to in the ſame ſpirit. Poſſeſſing a voice in the legiſlature of our little republic, I have an undoubted right to offer to its conſideration, whatever I may think will be conducive to our honour and advantage. But, I ſhall conduct myſelf in the ſequel, as a perſon who conſiders, that, although ſome alterations may be neceſſary, his own particular mode of effecting them may not be the moſt elegible; and, therefore, if it be rejected, I will endeavour to enjoy, in tranquility, the ſatisfaction ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of

good intentions; a ſatisfaction, which is neither impaired by a miſcarriage, nor enhanced by ſucceſs.

It has frequently been objected to us, that, of late years, there hath been an enormous increaſe in the expenſes of academical education. I ſhall not inquire, how far this evil is to be imputed to the conduct of the parent, or the guardian: I ſhall only obſerve, that if this extravagance, and conſequent licentiouſneſs of manners, in any degree ariſes from our own error or inattention, both our honour and our intereſt are concerned in reſtraining them.

Many perſons of great character and real worth, who have alſo manifeſted a tender regard for the intereſts of our univerſity, have often hinted, that it is become abſolutely neceſſary for us to exert ourſelves with more than ordinary zeal, in the preſent alarming criſis of national manners. And it is a truth too melancholy to be inſiſted on, that a licentious and infidel ſpirit, diffuſing itſelf from the metropolis as its center, at length hath penetrated theſe retirements; and hath produced appearances, peculiarly unbe-

unbecoming a place, ſet apart for the purpoſes of learning and religious education.

It hath alſo been ſuggeſted, that it is only by the ſeverity of our diſcipline we can hope to effect a removal of evils, which ſeem to threaten our deſtruction. I am, from my heart, diſpoſed to look with approbation upon every ordinance, which has a tendency to produce a decent and regular deportment: but, if I conjecture right, that truly portentous diſſipation, which does us ſuch diſcredit in the eſtimation of the ſerious part of mankind, ariſes not ſo much from a relaxation of diſcipline, as from the denial of indulgence to a virtuous affection of the ſoul, formerly cultivated with the moſt aſſiduous care, and honoured in the inſtitutions of the wiſeſt ſtates, as a paſſion, productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences to the public welfare.

Schemes of diſcipline, planned with wiſdom, and ſteadily ſupported, may poſſibly reſtore to us a portion of our former reputation. But, when I reflect upon the particular nature of thoſe corruptions which mark the manners of the preſent times, I

own I am inclined to prefer that mode of reformation, which gently leads the minds of youth from the purſuit of each inferior gratification, by propoſing to their view ſuch objects as are truly deſerving of their attention; which, at the ſame time that it prevents the commiſſion of vice, by diminiſhing the number and efficacy of its temptations, rouſes to the practice of every manly virtue, by the animating proſpect of reward.

The time of life, when the powers of reaſon are approaching to their maturity, ſhould unqueſtionably be choſen, as the proper ſeaſon for inſtilling thoſe principles of virtue, learning, and religion, which are moſt likely to render us uſeful to our country, and happy in ourſelves.

At this period, the ſpirit of EMULATION is found in greateſt force: it conſtitutes a motive, more generous than the ſelfiſh, ſenſual paſſions, which, according to the uſual courſe of nature, prevail in earlier life; but leſs exalted than that fervent love of human kind, which is intended by the author of

our

our being to be the incentive in maturer age.

It has frequently been obſerved, that the affections of the human mind riſe by a neceſſary progreſs, in beautiful ſucceſſion, each being introductory to affections of a nobler kind; that each has its limited time of acting; that it is our wiſdom to convert them to their nobleſt objects; and that if, in particular, the ſeaſon, when the emulative affections moſt prevail, ſhould be neglected, it will be in vain that we afterwards endeavour to impreſs the mind with the ardour of improvement, or to ſtamp it with the image of each ſterling virtue.

A ſyſtem of education, therefore, cannot be complete, in which the ſpirit of emulation is either partially indulged, or improperly directed.

But, in the univerſity of Cambridge, a great part of the ſtudents have no opportunity of exerting their abilities, under the influence of this generous paſſion. And, in thoſe inſtances wherein it is ſuffered to manifeſt its power, its force is expended in the acquiſition of a ſpecies of learning, which, however

however excellent in many reſpects, certainly has not a reaſonable claim to the diſtinguiſhed privileges, which it enjoys at preſent in this ſeat of literature; inaſmuch as it neither prepares our ſtudents for a creditable entrance upon thoſe particular profeſſions, to which the higheſt honours and emoluments are annexed in civil life; nor tends immediately to fit them for a general commerce with the world.

Let us, for inſtance, inquire what field is allowed for its exertion, in the caſe of candidates for the firſt degree in arts.

The ſolicitude, previous to an examination for the bachelor's degree, and the joy, conſequent upon paſſing through it with ſucceſs, evidently demonſtrate, that an uncommon ardour of emulation actuates the breaſt of each aſpirant to thoſe honourable diſtinctions, which the univerſity then beſtows upon her moſt approved ſons.

But, even in this caſe, the object of purſuit is removed at too great a diſtance from the time of admiſſion, for the emulative principle to act uniformly.

Experience ſhews, that the moſt dangerous

rous temptations await the youth at his firſt entrance upon academical life. And common ſenſe ſeems to dictate, that at this time we ſhould, with peculiar care, endeavour to confirm the habits of application, gained in each inferior ſeminary, by a more extenſive exerciſe of the emulative affections, and trials of a more important kind. Yet, ſtrange as it muſt appear to every perſon, who affords the matter a moment's conſideration, no evidence is required of the ſtudent's proficiency in the courſe preſcribed by the cuſtom of the univerſity, until the time of his appearance as a diſputant in the public ſchools.

Hence, the firſt years of reſidence are too generally ſpent in indolence, or extravagance; the laſt in an obſtinate courſe of labours, which enfeeble the mental powers of the ſtudent, at the ſame time that they have not unfrequently been known to be deſtructive to his health.

From hence alſo we may account for the ſlender improvements, made in each branch of ſcience by thoſe numerous ſtudents, who, for various reaſons, do not find it expedient

to

to continue their reſidence among us till the uſual time of commencing bachelors of arts.

As no proper purſuits are, in this caſe, propoſed to youthful emulation, the active imagination is unavoidably led to employ itſelf in the ſearch of leſs worthy gratifications; and hence that ardour of excelling, which in the penſioner exerts itſelf in the inveſtigation of philoſophic truth, diſpoſes the fellow-commoner to aim at diſtinguiſhing himſelf in every faſhionable mode of diſſipation. This is an evil the more to be lamented, as the ſuperiority of fortune, in that order of our ſtudents, would render their literary attainments more extenſively beneficial to their country. And, indeed, it is often among themſelves conſidered as a matter of complaint, that, by the preſent conſtitution of the univerſity, they are in a manner excluded from all opportunity of diſplaying their talents in common with their aſſociates; talents, which, improved by culture in the ſeat of the muſes, might hereafter render them eminently uſeful in the more important ſcenes of ſocial life.

Nor

Nor is the partiality, afforded to one particular branch of ſtudy by the cuſtom of the univerſity, leſs reprehenſible; whether we conſider academical education as initiatory into the ſtudies of any particular profeſſion, or as preparatory to a more enlarged intercourſe with mankind.

I am duly ſenſible of the many good conſequences, which are derived from a moderate attention to the prevailing ſtudies of this place: they give ſtrength and ſolidity to the judgment, and call forth thoſe inventive powers, which, in after life, may be ſucceſsfully applied to the inveſtigation of elegant and uſeful problems in every valuable art. The knowledge of nature, and of her laws, is, in a peculiar manner, ſuited to the ever inquiſitive mind of man; and, by the variety and extenſive magnificence of the views which it affords us, tends to the abolition of thoſe narrow prejudices, and confined principles, which, at the ſame time that they forbid us to elevate our thoughts to the good of nations, and of late poſterity, very powerfully obſtruct the progreſs of our under-

underſtandings to that perfection, for which they were originally deſigned.

Yet ſurely the ſtudy of the mathematics, and of nature's operations, ſhould not intirely engroſs the youthful mind.* Inquiry into metaphyſical and moral truth, is accompanied with numerous advantages; and tends to produce thoſe fruits in public and in private life, to which we aſſign the names of the moſt honourable virtues that can dignify or ornament our kind.

It is to the finiſhed compoſitions of Greece and Rome, that the ſtudent muſt direct his view, if he wiſhes to excel in juſt ſentiment, and expreſſive diction; yet, excepting the encouragements given by the chancellor, and

* The late inſtitution of Dr. Smith, were every other incentive to be withdrawn, would ſupply ſufficient inducements to the ſtudy of the more recondite parts of mathematics and philoſophy. However, it is no part of the author's deſign, to diſcourage general improvement in theſe branches of ſound and uſeful learning; but rather, by propoſing them as the objects of an earlier attention, to render their principles more accurately underſtood, and, conſequently, the ſtudies themſelves more extenſively uſeful to his countrymen.

and univerſity members, claſſical merit is altogether diſregarded.*

The ſtudy of hiſtory alſo, that pleaſing monitor, which, as it inſtructs us in the errors

* It hath been objected, that the expreſſion, made uſe of in this place, is ſtronger than the real circumſtances of the caſe will warrant; and that the Craven ſcholarſhips, together with the præmiums given in ſome private ſocieties, afford a ſufficient encouragement to the youth, who are ambitious of being diſtinguiſhed by the luſtre of their claſſical attainments. But it is requeſted, that the gentlemen, who think that there is any weight in theſe obſervations, would reflect, that the ſaid ſcholarſhips are only two in number; that the ſame perſons may enjoy them for the term of fourteen years; and, therefore, on account of the unfrequency of the election, that they cannot poſſibly be conſidered as forming any very powerful incentive to youthful emulation. However, as it muſt be allowed, that from the time of their inſtitution, they have been invariably the rewards of claſſical merit, I will freely acknowledge that they ought to have been mentioned among its encouragements. "Valeant, quantum valere poſſunt."

With reſpect to the encouragements in private colleges, they are altogether out of the queſtion. The intent of the preſent publication is to ſhew the expediency, and even the neceſſity, of introducing a more perfect mode of education into the univerſity at large; to point out the advantages of diffuſing the ſpirit of emulation among

errors of the paſt, affords us the moſt important documents for the conduct of ſucceeding ages, is not ſufficiently encouraged. The ſtudy of elocution, that graceful, manly, accompliſhment, which is ſo neceſſary to complete the character of the lawyer, the ſenator, and the divine, is utterly neglected. And, to ſum up the matter of complaint in few

among all orders of our youth; and to recommend each branch of uſeful ſcience, each valuable art, each diviſion of politer literature, as the objects of their animated purſuit. In the proſecution of my purpoſe, it would have been impertinent to have taken notice of thoſe partial inſtitutions, which have been adopted by ſome particular communities, with a view of obviating the fundamental imperfections in our academical courſe; as the natural effects of ſuch ſchemes of improvement muſt always be counteracted, and, in moſt inſtances, intirely overborn, by the far ſuperior influence of thoſe honorary diſtinctions, which the univerſity holds forth as incentives to philoſophical inquiry.

I am heartily diſpoſed to allow to every effort towards reformation, its proper portion of praiſe. And it is with pleaſure I acknowledge, that the ardour, with which the worthy tutors of Trinity, St. John's, Queen's, Caius, and Chriſt's colleges, have endeavoured to introduce the ſtudy of the greek Teſtament into their reſpective ſocieties, entitles them to the thanks of each conſcientious parent, and the applauſe of every liberal mind.

few words, almoſt every valuable attainment is defrauded of its proper portion of praiſe; while thoſe honorary diſtinctions, which ought to be the rewards of ſucceſsful labours in every branch of uſeful literature, and which, if judiciouſly diſtributed, would fix the fervent attention of youth to each important object of purſuit, are, at preſent, diſpenſed, with a culpable partiality, in favour of the proficients in one particular diviſion of the ſciences. The conſequences are ſuch, as might naturally be expected to take place: the academic changes the ſeat of his reſidence for ſcenes, which demand accompliſhments of a different nature from thoſe, to which glory and profit are annexed within the walls of Cambridge; his acquiſitions appear unimportant in the eyes of his fellow-citizens; and he, therefore, either reſigns himſelf to deſpondency, or ſeeks for happineſs in the gratifications of a diſſipated life.

It may poſſibly be anſwered, that the ſtudies, which I now recommend, are already attended to in public, and in private lectures. I acknowledge it with pleaſure. And, were I diſpoſed to ſpeak diſreſpectfully

of the labours of the many worthy and ingenious gentlemen, who now adorn this place, the public and undeniable evidences they have afforded of aſſiduity, in the diſcharge of their reſpective functions, would ſufficiently refute my calumny. The circumſtances, which attended the recent inſtitution of a courſe of lectures upon modern hiſtory, reflect honour upon the preſent profeſſor:* and, if we may be allowed to conjecture of the manner of the execution, from the animated expreſſions of approbation in the audience, we may venture to predict, that very beneficial conſequences will hereafter be derived to the community, from an eſtabliſhment, which is wiſely calculated to animate each noble and ingenious pupil, to a vigorous diſplay of every uſeful talent, upon the extenſive theatre of public life. With reſpect to other caſes, wherein I may be allowed to commend with leſs appearance of preſumption, I can truly ſay, that I have the honour of being acquainted with ſeveral gentlemen, who diſcharge with credit, each part of their important truſt. But ſomething

[* John Symonds, LL.D. profeſſor of modern hiſtory in the univerſity of Cambridge.]

thing more than the capacity and fidelity of the tutor is generally required in order to the improvement of the pupil: and that ſomething, the inexhauſtible fund of HONOUR would effectually ſupply.

It may alſo be urged, that there is no neceſſity for engaging the univerſity in any ſcheme of alteration, as the plan, purſued by the maſter of St. John's college, may be adopted in every other ſociety. Moſt highly do I reſpect Dr. Powell's character, with regard to his conduct in that department, which he fills with ſo much honour to himſelf, and advantage to the public; but his method cannot conveniently be admitted into ſmaller ſocieties: and, even within his own, it has been obſerved, that the emulation of youth, for want of a wider range, too often produces paſſions of a more malignant kind.*

* It gives me pain to hear, that ſome expreſſions in this paragraph, in which I meant to pay a proper compliment to Dr. Powell, on account of his aſſiduity in the diſcharge of his function, as head of an houſe, have been underſtood in a ſenſe very different from what I intended. The doctor hath confeſſedly effected the eſtabliſhment of examinations within the walls of his own college;

To exhibit the form of an inſtitution, which, according to the enlarged and elevated conception of Milton, is calculated "to fit a man to perform juſtly, ſkilfully, and magnanimouſly, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," exceeds the limits of my deſign. And perhaps the difficulties, attending the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſyſtem, were even a Bacon to propoſe one, would be really unſurmountable.

When circumſtances, however, ſeem to render it neceſſary to attempt an emendation, it is not creditable to decline all efforts to effect it, becauſe the attainment of perfection is placed beyond our power. A reformation

college; and the fact was mentioned by me to his praiſe. If an inſtitution, highly beneficial in the main, has been attended with one bad conſequence, which no art, or foreſight, could prevent, ſuch failure is to be conſidered as his misfortune, not his fault; and ſhould incline him cordially to co-operate in ſupport of a propoſal, not liable to ſuch an inconvenience; a propoſal, which, if carried into execution, would probably be the ſource of numerous advantages to every other ſociety, at the ſame time, that, from his compliance, no ſubſtantial injury, but rather an increaſe of honour, would be derived to his own.

formation of the moſt material errors in our practice, may prepare the way for more deſirable improvements. And, as it is incumbent upon every citizen to contribute whatever may lie in his power to the advancement of the public welfare, I have thought it my duty to propoſe the following meaſures to the conſideration of thoſe perſons, in whom, according to my idea, the power of altering and improving our academical inſtitutions is veſted; and, I truſt, they are ſuch as will, upon due examination, appear to be both practicable and expedient.

I. Let an examination of all the undergraduates, ranged according to their ſtanding in the univerſity, be annually held in the ſenate-houſe, in the May term, a little before the time of its diviſion.

II. Let the ſubject-matter of this examination be the law of nature and of nations, chronology, hiſtory, claſſics, mathematics, metaphyſics, and philoſophy natural and moral; and let no perſon in "ſtatu pupillari" be permitted to plead his order, as an exemption from attending it.

III. Let the claſſic authors, and portions of hiſtory, which ſhall appear moſt deſerving of academical attention, be previouſly ſettled by thoſe perſons, whom the univerſity ſhall delegate for this purpoſe; and publicly given out each year, as the courſe preſcribed for examination in the year which follows; and let honorary rewards be diſpenſed to thoſe ſtudents, who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in each diviſion.

IV. Let the particular portions of mathematics and natural philoſophy, which are intended to be the ſubject of each examination, be limited with preciſion; with a view of reducing, within due bounds, the application to a ſtudy, which, however uſeful, has of late engroſſed too much of the attention of the ſtudent.

V. In order the more powerfully to invite our academical youth to aim at excelling in latin or engliſh compoſition, let the donation of books of the moſt elegant editions, in which are inſerted engraved impreſſions of the arms of the univerſity, and inſcriptions ſuitable to the occaſion, be ſuper-added to thoſe merely honorary diſtinctions, which

the

the univerſity ſhall propoſe as inducements to literary improvement.

VI. Let not the members of that royal foundation, which has always been conſpicuouſly eminent with reſpect to claſſical merit, any longer be deprived of an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the diſplay of every valuable attainment.

VII. And, in the examination, preceding that for the degree of bachelor in arts, let not improvements in ſacred literature remain without their ſhare of praiſe.*

* The importance of the ſubject requires, that I ſhould explain myſelf upon this point more particularly.

It formerly was the cuſtom for the tutors, in every college in the univerſity, to give, weekly, theological lectures to the ſtudents under their care. Through what means, or for what reaſons, this laudable practice came to be diſcontinued at many of the colleges, I have never been able to diſcover. It is a fact, that although the reaſonableneſs of the meaſure, and the circumſtances of the times, call aloud for its revival, it does not at preſent univerſally prevail.

Theſe lectures, I am informed, were attended by all the reſident ſtudents without any exception. They certainly conduced to keep alive, in the breaſts of youth, that ſenſe of religion, which had been inſtilled in the earlier

It is not intended that this courſe ſhould, in any reſpect, interfere with the ſtatutable exerciſes

earlier ſeaſons of inſtruction; and which, it may be preſumed, formed their beſt ſecurity, againſt the numerous temptations they were expoſed to in academic life.

But, as, at this inexperienced age, the judgment is not ſufficiently matured to enter upon the diſcuſſion of points of religious controverſy, it may not be adviſable to require any great degree of proficiency in ſacred literature, at theſe times of public trial.

If the candidate appears to be tolerably well verſed in the four goſpels, according to the original, and can paſs an examination in Grotius de Veritate religionis chriſtianæ, he might be eſteemed ſufficiently inſtituted in theological ſtudies for his firſt degree.

But, as many ſtudents in our univerſities are ſent thither, in order to be properly qualified for the miniſterial functions, it may be urged, that there is a neceſſity, in their caſe, for a greater degree of application, and an attendance upon a more formal inſtitution.

It will be readily acknowledged, that a continual courſe of daily lectures in theology, for the term of two months complete, will ſcarcely be ſufficient for this purpoſe.

And, therefore, as the moſt ſuitable ſeaſon for ſuch inſtruction appears to be that, which is immediately ſubſequent to the bachelor's commencement, it is much to be lamented, that ſome proviſion is not made for ſuch an inſtitution; and ſuch encouragements propoſed, as may be an inducement with our ſtudents to prolong their reſidence at college, for the purpoſe of improvement in a ſcience, of the higheſt concernment to the public and themſelves.

exerciſes of the univerſity: nor that it ſhould ſuperſede, but rather be preparatory to, the more important examination for the bachelor's degree.

It is propoſed, that the firſt annual examination ſhould take place in the May term 1774: but that it ſhould comprehend only thoſe gentlemen, who ſhall be admitted during the courſe of the preſent year. However, if it ſhould even be thought expedient to call the emulation of youth, now reſident in the univerſity, to thoſe manly purſuits, which tend to prepare them for an honourable diſplay of their talents in each active ſcene; there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that their native candour, and ingenuous manners, would induce them cheerfully to concur with the endeavours of their ſuperiors, in effecting ſo deſirable an end.

I might further obſerve, in favour of ſuch a ſcheme as I have now recommended, that it would afford inducements to gentlemen of longer ſtanding, to devote themſelves, with increaſing application, to ſuch parts of literature, as may be eminently beneficial to them in their profeſſion as divines. But I reſerve

reſerve what I have further to urge upon this ſubject, until I am made acquainted with the objections, that may be advanced againſt the propoſed eſtabliſhment. In the mean time, I will, with pleaſure, communicate with any academical gentleman, upon the proper meaſures to be purſued, in order to the inſtitution of ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS; and I ſhall think myſelf happy, if theſe obſervations upon the defects in our preſent courſe of education, ſhall ſuggeſt any uſeful hints to thoſe, who may have more influence than myſelf in promoting a reform.

APPENDIX.

IF it ſhould appear expedient to the ſenate to paſs a grace, for the eſtabliſhment of annual examinations, it is propoſed, that all ſtudents of the preſent year ſhould attend,

The firſt examination in May 1774;

The ſecond examination in May 1775;

The third examination in May 1776;

The

The fourth examination, for the degree of bachelor in arts, in January 1777.

As a mode of procedure, ſimilar to one already eſtabliſhed, may appear more feaſible, than one conſtructed upon a plan intirely new, it may be adviſable to render the proceſs, as near as poſſible, conformable to the examination at the time of the bachelor's degree.

And, therefore, it is propoſed,

I. That ſix public examiners be annually appointed * by the univerſity, with power finally to determine concerning the honorary rewards, in thoſe diviſions of the ſtudents, which ſhall be conſigned to their management.

II. That the ſtudents of the three years be ranged in three diſtinct diviſions, in the ſenate-houſe.

III. That the examiners, ſeated at ſeparate tables in the public library, examine the ſtudents of the reſpective years, in diviſions

* As, according to this ſcheme, the examination of 1774 will only comprehend the ſtudents of a ſingle year, no more than two examiners muſt be appointed for that year; four for the next; and the full complement of ſix, in each ſucceeding year.

ſions of ſix, eight, or ten, according to the method practiſed in the queſtioniſts' examination.

IV. That all regents and non-regents, whether doctors or maſters, be permitted to ſend for ſingle ſtudents, (when not actually engaged with the public examiners,) and to examine them in the preſcribed courſe of the year, either in the ſenate-houſe or public library, as they ſhall judge convenient.

V. That the examination laſt three days; and that the time of attendance of the ſtudents in the ſenate-houſe be from nine till twelve in the forenoon, and from three to ſix in the afternoon.

It has been hinted to the author by ſome perſons, whoſe judgment he reveres, that a ſhort account of our academical exerciſes, together with a delineation of our proceſs in that examination, which is propoſed as the model of the projected eſtabliſhment, would probably be acceptable to many,

many, who are unacquainted with our preſent forms. In compliance, therefore, with their ſuggeſtions, he ſubjoins the following repreſentation of that part of our literary diſcipline, which is preparatory to the conferring of the firſt degree in arts.

In the beginning of the month of January, one of the proctor's ſervants goes round to every college in the univerſity, (Trinity-hall and King's college excepted) and requires a liſt of the ſtudents, who, in the ſubſequent January, intend to offer themſelves as candidates for the bachelor's degree.

The names of the ſtudents, being thus collected, are delivered to one of the two moderators, who tranſcribes them into a book, for purpoſes, which will be preſently explained.

Theſe moderators are annually choſen upon the tenth of October. Their proper office is to preſide, alternately, at the public exerciſes of the ſtudents; and to examine them, at the time of their offering themſelves for their degree.

Theſe

Theſe public exerciſes are held in the afternoon, for five days in the week during term time; the moderator appearing a little before two, and frequently continuing in the ſchools till the clock ſtrikes four.

Upon the firſt Monday after the commencement of the January term, the moderator, whoſe turn it is to preſide, gives written notice to one of the ſtudents in his liſt, that it is his pleaſure he ſhould appear in the ſchools, as a diſputant, on that day fortnight.

This perſon, who is now called the "reſpondent," in a few hours after he has received the ſummons, waits upon the moderator with three propoſitions or queſtions; the truth of which he is to maintain againſt the objections of any three ſtudents of the ſame year, whom the moderator ſhall think proper to nominate, and who on this occaſion are called "opponents."

The queſtions, propoſed by the reſpondent, are written upon four ſeparate papers, according to a form, of which the following is a ſpecimen:

Q. S. "Planetæ

Q. S.

" Planetæ primarii retinentur in orbitis ſuis vi gravitatis, et motu projectili.

" Iridis primariæ et ſecundariæ phænomena ſolvi poſſunt ex principiis opticis.

" Non licet magiſtratui civem morti tradere niſi ob crimen homicidii.

" ——Reſp. Jan. 10mo."

At the bottom of three of theſe papers, the moderator writes the name of a ſtudent, whom he thinks capable of oppoſing the queſtions of the reſpondent, with the words, " Opponentium primus, ſecundus, or tertius," denoting the order, in which the opponents are to appear.

One of theſe papers is ſent to each opponent; and from that which remains, the moderator, at his leiſure, tranſcribes the queſtions, together with the names of the reſpondent and opponents into his book.

When one moderator has thus given out the exerciſe for a week, he ſends the book to the other, who proceeds according to the ſame

ſame method, and then returns the book to his colleague.

The fortnight for preparation being expired, the reſpondent appears in the ſchools: he aſcends the roſtrum, and reads a latin diſſertation, (called with us a "theſis") upon any one of the three queſtions he thinks proper; the moderator attending in his place.

As ſoon as the reſpondent has finiſhed his theſis, which generally takes ten or fifteen minutes in the reading, the moderator calls upon the firſt opponent to appear. He immediately aſcends a roſtrum oppoſite to the reſpondent, and propoſes his "arguments" againſt the queſtions in ſyllogiſtical form.

Eight arguments, each conſiſting of three or four ſyllogiſms, are brought up by the firſt opponent, five by the ſecond, and three by the third.

When the exerciſe has for ſome time been carried on according to the ſtrict rules of logic, the diſputation inſenſibly ſlides into free and unconfined debate: the moderator, in the mean time, explaining the argument of the opponent, when neceſſary; reſtraining

ing both parties from wandering from the ſubject; and frequently adding, at the cloſe of each argument, his own determination upon the point in diſpute.

Theſe exerciſes are improving; are generally well attended; and, conſequently, are often performed with great ſpirit. But many perſons of good judgment, obſerving, with pain, the unclaſſical latin, generally uttered by the ſtudent upon theſe occaſions, have maintained, that the knowledge of that language is not promoted by the preſent method of diſputation; and have delivered it as their opinion, that theſe exerciſes ſhould be held in engliſh, in order to their abſolute perfection.

The three opponents, having, in their turns, exhauſted their whole ſtock of arguments, are diſmiſſed by the moderator in their order, with ſuch a compliment, as in his eſtimation they deſerve: and the exerciſe cloſes with the diſmiſſion of the reſpondent in a ſimilar manner.

The moderator, upon his return to his chambers, records the merits of the diſpu-

tants by marks, ſet oppoſite to their reſpective names.

This exerciſe, with the preparations for the ſubſequent examination in January, appears to be ſufficient employment for the laſt year. And the apprehenſion of it is ſo alarming, that the ſtudent, after two years and a quarter's reſidence, during which time no proof whatever of his proficiency is required, frequently ſeeks to avoid the difficulty or diſgrace, by commencing fellow-commoner, or, by declaring his intention of proceeding in civil law.

Theſe exerciſes being duly performed, the vice-chancellor appoints three days, in the beginning of the January term, for the examination of the "queſtioniſts:" this being the appellation of the ſtudents, during the laſt ſix weeks of their preparation.

The moderators, ſome days before the arrival of the time preſcribed by the vice-chancellor, meet for the purpoſe of forming the ſtudents into diviſions of ſix, eight, or ten, according to their performance in the ſchools, with a view to the enſuing examination.

Upon

Upon the firſt of the appointed days, at eight o'clock in the morning, the ſtudents enter the ſenate-houſe, preceded by a maſter of arts from each college, who, on this occaſion, is called the "father" of the college to which he belongs.

After the proctors have called over the names, each of the moderators ſends for a diviſion of the ſtudents: they ſit with him round a table, with pens, ink, and paper, before them: he enters upon his taſk of examination, and does not diſmiſs the ſet till the hour is expired. This examination has now for ſome years been held in the engliſh language.

The examination is varied according to the abilities of the ſtudents. The moderator generally begins with propoſing ſome queſtions from the ſix books of Euclid, plain trigonometry, and the firſt rules of algebra. If any perſon fails in an anſwer, the queſtion goes to the next. From the elements of mathematics, a tranſition is made to the four branches of philoſophy, viz. mechanics, hydroſtatics, apparent aſtronomy, and optics, as explained in the works

of Maclaurin, Cotes, Helſham, Hamilton, Rutherforth, Keill, Long, Ferguſon, and Smith. If the moderator finds the ſet of queſtioniſts, under examination, capable of anſwering him, he proceeds to the eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, conic ſections, ſpherical trigonometry, the higher parts of algebra, and ſir Iſaac Newton's Principia; more particularly thoſe ſections, which treat of the motion of bodies in eccentric and revolving orbits; the mutual action of ſpheres, compoſed of particles attracting each other according to various laws; the theory of pulſes, propagated through elaſtic mediums; and the ſtupendous fabric of the world. Having cloſed the philoſophical examination, he ſometimes aſks a few queſtions in Locke's Eſſay on the human underſtanding, Butler's Analogy, or Clarke's Attributes. But as the higheſt academical diſtinctions are invariably given to the beſt proficients in mathematics and natural philoſophy, a very ſuperficial knowledge in morality and metaphyſics will ſuffice.

When the diviſion under examination is one of the higher claſſes, problems are alſo propoſed,

propoſed, with which the ſtudent retires to a diſtant part of the ſenate-houſe, and returns, with his ſolution upon paper, to the moderator, who, at his leiſure, compares it with the ſolutions of other ſtudents, to whom the ſame problems have been propoſed.

The extraction of roots, the arithmetic of ſurds, the invention of diviſers, the reſolution of quadratic, cubic, and biquadratic equations; together with the doctrine of fluxions, and its application to the ſolution of queſtions "de maximis et minimis," to the finding of areas, to the rectification of curves, the inveſtigation of the centers of gravity and oſciliation, and to the circumſtances of bodies, agitated, according to various laws, by centripetal forces, as unfolded, and exemplified, in the fluxional treatiſes of Lyons, Saunderſon, Simpſon, Emerſon, Maclaurin, and Newton, generally form the ſubject matter of theſe problems.

When the clock ſtrikes nine, the queſtioniſts are diſmiſſed to breakfaſt: they return at half paſt nine, and ſtay till eleven; they go in again at half paſt one, and ſtay

till three; and, laſtly, they return at half paſt three, and ſtay till five.

The hours of attendance are the ſame upon the ſubſequent day.

On the third day they are finally diſmiſſed at eleven.

During the hours of attendance, every diviſion is twice examined in form, once by each of the moderators, who are engaged for the whole time in this employment.

As the queſtioniſts are examined in diviſions of only ſix or eight at a time, but a ſmall portion of the whole number is engaged, at any particular hour, with the moderators; and, therefore, if there were no further examination, much time would remain unemployed.

But the moderator's inquiry into the merits of the candidates forms the leaſt material part of the examination.

The "fathers" of the reſpective colleges, zealous for the credit of the ſocieties, of which they are the guardians, are inceſſantly employed in examining thoſe ſtudents, who appear moſt likely to conteſt the palm of glory with their ſons.

This

This part of the proceſs is as follows:

The father of a college takes the ſtudent of a different college aſide, and, ſometimes for an hour and an half together, ſtrictly examines him in every part of mathematics and philoſophy, which he profeſſes to have read.

After he hath, from this examination, formed an accurate idea of the ſtudent's abilities and acquired knowledge, he makes a report of his abſolute or comparative merit to the moderators, and to every other father who ſhall aſk him the queſtion.

Beſides the fathers, all maſters of arts, and doctors, of whatever faculty they be, have the liberty of examining whom they pleaſe; and they alſo report the event of each trial, to every perſon who ſhall make the inquiry.

The moderators and fathers meet at breakfaſt, and at dinner. From the variety of reports, taken in connection with their own examination, the former are enabled, about the cloſe of the ſecond day, ſo far to ſettle the comparative merits of the candidates, as to agree upon the names of four-

and-twenty, who to them appear moſt deſerving of being diſtinguiſhed by marks of academical approbation.

Theſe four-and-twenty are recommended to the proctors for their private examination; and, if approved by them, and no reaſon appears againſt ſuch placing of them from any ſubſequent inquiry, their names are ſet down in two diviſions, according to that order, in which they deſerve to ſtand; are afterwards printed; and read over upon a ſolemn day, in the preſence of the vice-chancellor, and of the aſſembled univerſity.

The names of the twelve, who, in the courſe of the examination, appear next in deſert, are alſo printed, and are read over, in the preſence of the vice-chancellor, and of the aſſembled univerſity, upon a day ſubſequent to the former.

Four additional names are generally inſerted in the former liſt, (which is called the liſt of the wranglers, and ſenior optime's,) at the diſcretion of the vice-chancellor, two proctors, and the ſenior regent; and the numbers are ſometimes varied, from a regard to accidental circumſtances. In the latter

latter liſt, or that of junior optime's, the number of twelve is almoſt conſtantly adhered to.

It is to be obſerved, that no ſtudent can be a candidate for the medals, annually given by the chancellor, for the encouragement of claſſical learning, unleſs his name appears in the former of theſe liſts.

The ſtudents, who appear to have merited neither praiſe nor cenſure, paſs unnoticed: while thoſe, who have taken no pains to prepare themſelves for the examination, and have appeared with diſcredit in the ſchools, are diſtinguiſhed by particular tokens of diſgrace.

The advantages, attendant upon this mode of examination, are ſo obvious, that this account of it needs no comment. It is only to be lamented, that merit in mathematics and philoſophy ſhould be rewarded, ſo much to the excluſion of every other kind of literary improvement.

It may not be improper to add, that the fellow-commoners (who are much favoured with reſpect to impoſitions, conſequent upon non-attendance at chapel, and enjoy many other

other extraordinary privileges) are releaſed, for what reaſon I cannot ſay, from the obligation of appearing as diſputants in the public ſchools: an obligation, to which candidates of the inferior orders are compelled to ſubmit. However, as every perſon, about to be admitted to a degree, takes an oath, that he has performed all the exerciſes, required by the ſtatutes of the univerſity, a mock proceſs is inſtituted to ſave thoſe, who have either performed no exerciſe at all, or have not performed their full quota, in the regular way, from the guilt of being forſworn. The ſtatute directs, that every candidate for the degree of bachelor in arts, ſhall, at the time of his offering himſelf for ſuch degree, have kept two acts and two opponencies. All theſe the fellow-commoner generally diſpatches, upon the day of admiſſion to his degree, in the ſpace of ten minutes; reading in that time two theſes, and anſwering ſixteen arguments againſt ſix queſtions; hearing alſo two theſes, and propoſing, at the leaſt, eight arguments againſt ſix queſtions in his turn. From the precipitation with which the candidate reads his theſes,

theſes, anſwers and propoſes arguments, the whole of this ceremony is very expreſſively denominated, " huddling for a degree."

Many attempts have, from time to time, been made by the moderators, to remove the preſent imperfections in our courſe; but the event hath ſhewn, that the evil in queſtion can be remedied only by the exertion of a ſuperior authority.

In the college of Dublin, of which I had the honour of being a member for near two years, quarterly examinations have long been eſtabliſhed; and the uncontroverted ſucceſs of the inſtitution in that famous ſeminary, will, it is hoped, be an additional inducement with every friend of learning, to exert himſelf with vigour, that, if poſſible, an inſtitution of a ſimilar nature may be adopted in each ſiſter univerſity.

It is with pleaſure I acknowledge, that the emendation propoſed in theſe pages, (which I have at different times, in the courſe of many years, moſt earneſtly recommended to ſeveral of the heads of houſes, and tutors in the univerſity,) was ſuggeſted to me by the recollection of the advantages, derived

derived from the Dublin method of procedure. And I was not a little confirmed in my perſuaſion of the utility of the inſtitution in queſtion, in conſequence of my ſubſequent obſervation of the good effects of thoſe half-yearly examinations, which Dr. Powell, highly to his credit, hath introduced into that ſociety, over which he ſo worthily preſides.

POSTSCRIPT.

As the preceding propoſal, for the eſtabliſhment of annual examinations, was honoured, upon its firſt appearance, with the approbation of ſome of the heads of houſes, and of a very conſiderable number of the public tutors, and other members of the univerſity; it may not be improper to offer ſome further conſiderations, upon the mode of appointing the examiners; the ſtipend to be allowed them by the univerſity; and the powers, with which it may be expedient to intruſt them.

With reſpect to the mode of electing the examiners,

examiners, it appears moſt reaſonable to conform to the cycle, already eſtabliſhed for the appointment of the proctors.

If the additional public officers, choſen for the purpoſe of annual examinations, were to be only two in number, there would be no difficulty in ſettling the manner of their election. But, as, after the two firſt years, ſix examiners muſt be annually appointed, it will be neceſſary that I ſhould explain myſelf more particularly upon this ſubject.

Upon inſpection into the eſtabliſhed cycle, it appears, that the colleges, with which it begins, are St. John's and Queen's. I would therefore propoſe, that two gentlemen, one nominated by each of theſe ſocieties, ſhould be choſen to preſide in May, 1774, at the examination of the ſtudents of the preſent year.

The colleges, next in rotation, are Chriſt's and Peterhouſe. But, as the examination, to be holden in May, 1775, will comprehend the ſtudents of two years, King's college and Clare-hall are to be added, as next in ſucceſſion. Of the four perſons, to be choſen from theſe colleges, the two ſenior

may

may preſide at the examination of the ſtudents, admitted in 1773: the other two, at the examination of the ſtudents, admitted in 1774.

The examination in May, 1776, will comprehend the ſtudents of three years; we muſt, therefore, now take the ſix colleges next in ſucceſſion, viz. Trinity, Benet, St. John's, Magdalen, Pembroke-hall, and Jeſus. The two ſenior of the ſix examiners, to be choſen from theſe colleges, may preſide in the examination of the ſtudents, admitted in 1773: the two next ſenior may take the ſtudents of 1774; while the two junior conduct the examination of thoſe ſtudents, who ſhall be admitted in the year 1775.

The ſame mode of election is to be purſued, in the appointment of ſix examiners, for each ſucceeding year.

With reſpect to the annual ſtipend, it is propoſed, that ten pounds be paid to each examiner, out of the univerſity cheſt, within a week after the expiration of his office.

The powers of the examiners ſhould be as ample as poſſible; and, therefore, it is propoſed, that they ſhall have full authority to preſcribe the courſe for examination, in the

May

May term, which is ſubſequent to their appointment; but that they ſhall be under an obligation to give public notice, with reſpect to the books, or portions of books, in which they propoſe to examine, within a fortnight after the day of their election.

It is alſo propoſed, that, although every regent or non-regent ſhould have the liberty of examining any ſtudent, in the preſcribed courſe of the year, the public examiners, annually choſen, ſhall always be conſidered as the final judges of the comparative merits of the ſtudents; and that, having ſettled theſe merits from their own examination, and the reports of other examiners; they ſhall diſperſe a printed liſt of ſo many of the ſtudents, as they ſhall think proper to diſtinguiſh with honour, within a reaſonable time after the concluſion of the examination.

It is laſtly propoſed, that, if the univerſity ſhould think proper to aſſign any honorary rewards to thoſe ſtudents, who ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in latin or engliſh compoſition, the public examiners of each year ſhall be alſo the final judges of the reſpective merits of the candidates in this, as well as in every other inſtance.

AN excellent anonymous production, inſcribed to the right honourable lord North, chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, the reverend the vice-chancellor, and the other members of the convocation, (in which the courſe of education, purſued in that celebrated ſeat of literature, appears to be very faithfully delineated,) having been publicly handed about in this place; I truſt I may be indulged in the liberty of tranſcribing from it three or four paragraphs, for the information of thoſe perſons, who may be deſirous of comparing our form of inſtitution, as exhibited in the preceding pages, with the Oxford method of procedure.

The cuſtomary exerciſes for the degree of bachelor of arts, as ſet forth in this ingenious performance, are as follow:

I. "Diſputationes in parviſo." This exerciſe is a diſputation upon three queſtions, either in grammar or logic; to be held three days in every week, during full term, and to continue for the ſpace of two hours, namely, from

from one to three in the afternoon. Every ſcholar is obliged to perform this diſputation twice, and to be created ſenior ſoph, ſome time in his third year; and to repeat the diſputation once in every term afterwards, to the end of his fourth year. He is moreover injoined to attend it, when performed by others, during his ſecond, third, and fourth years.

This exerciſe is conſtantly held, as the ſtatute directs; and occaſionally ſuperintended by the proctors, or the maſters of the ſchools. So long as the magiſtrate is preſent, the diſputation is maintained; but it cannot be ſuppoſed, during his abſence, to be carried on with any great degree of vigour. The queſtions, as might reaſonably be expected from their ſubject matter, and frequent diſcuſſion, are trite and unintereſting. The ſenior ſoph, once in every term, comes into the ſchool where the diſputation is held, and propoſes one ſyllogiſm: which, being done purely to ſatisfy the letter of the ſtatute, "juramenti gratia," is commonly ſtiled "doing juraments." The ar-

ticle of attendance is, by univerſal conſent, totally neglected and forgot.

II. " Anſwering under bachelor." This exerciſe is a diſputation upon three queſtions, in logic for the moſt part, but ſometimes in grammar, rhetoric, ethics, or politics. It is to be held twice by every ſcholar, ſome time in his third or fourth year, and to continue for the ſpace of an hour and an half. This diſputation, as the title of it intimates, is held under the " moderamen" of a determining bachelor.

The exerciſe is performed much in the ſame manner as the preceding; except that, as it is held in lent, the ſchools are more frequently viſited by the proctors and maſters.

III. " Examination." The ſtatutable examiners are three regent maſters, to be appointed, in rotation, by the ſenior proctor. Any other regent maſter may concur in the examination, if he pleaſes. The number of ſcholars to be examined in the ſame day, or claſs, may not exceed ſix. They are to be examined in grammar, rhetoric, logic, ethics,

ethics, and geometry, and in the greek claſſics; they are alſo required to ſpeak the latin tongue with fluency. The vice-chancellor and proctors are injoined to attend examinations: the former, twice in every term; the latter, four times each; in order to ſee that they are duly and ſtatutably carried on.

The appointment of examiners, by rotation, has long ſince been diſuſed; and the number of regents, conſtantly reſident in the univerſity, is ſo ſmall, that it would be extremely troubleſome, if not abſolutely impracticable, to reſume it. In the preſent method, the candidate ſolicits three maſters to be his examiners, and then obtains the proctor's appointment or "liceat." The maſters uſually permit him to chuſe his own claſſics. It ſeldom happens that more than two or three candidates are examined in the ſame day, frequently only one. The ſtatute lays no injunction upon ſcholars to attend examinations, and it is become rather unuſual ſo to do. No other maſter ever aſſiſts at the examination, beſides thoſe appointed in the "liceat."

I do not think myſelf at liberty to ſubjoin this author's obſervations, upon the preſent mode of conducting academical education at Oxford, or the plan which he has propoſed for its improvement. But I cannot avoid expreſſing my wiſhes, in conjunction with thoſe of many perſons of character in this univerſity, that he would render more public his reflections upon a ſubject, which is ſo very intereſting and important.

A NAR-

A

NARRATIVE

OF

ACADEMICAL PROCEEDINGS,

RELATIVE TO THE PROPOSAL

FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

ANNUAL EXAMINATIONS

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

I PROPOSE, in the following narrative, to lay before the public, as ſuccinctly as poſſible, the meaſures, which I purſued, in order to accompliſh my purpoſe, as unfolded in the preceding pages; together with the nature of that oppoſition, which hath hitherto rendered my efforts unſucceſsful. But as, in the courſe of this hiſtory, expreſſions will unavoidably occur, which, if not explained, may prove unintelligible to ſome of my readers, it will be neceſſary for me to preface my account, with a ſhort ſketch of our academical conſtitution.

A "grace" of the univerſity ſenate bears ſome reſemblance to an "act" of the britiſh parliament. It is an ordinance of the legiſ-

lature of our corporation. Its authority in all matters, relative to academical diſcipline, is ſupreme. And it has been maintained by the ableſt lawyers, as well as by thoſe of our own body, who have been eſteemed beſt acquainted with the conſtitution of the univerſity, that, in caſes, wherein nothing is enacted in oppoſition to the laws of the land, neither the "ſtatutes" of Elizabeth, nor the "mandatory letters," of ſucceeding kings, although their authority be apparently ſtrengthened by our uninterrupted ſubmiſſion, can ſtand againſt the determinations of this reſpectable aſſembly.

Thoſe perſons, who are maſters of arts, or doctors in one or other of the three faculties, of divinity, civil law, and phyſic, having their names upon the college boards, or reſident in the town of Cambridge, have each a voice in the legiſlative body of the univerſity. The gentlemen who compoſe it, and who have, therefore, a right to the appellation of "members of the ſenate," are at preſent in number about four hundred.

The members of the ſenate are divided into two claſſes or houſes; and, according to

to this arrangement, they are denominated "regents" or "non-regents," with a view to ſome particular offices, allotted to the junior diviſion by the ſtatutes of the univerſity.

Maſters of arts, of leſs than five years ſtanding, and doctors of leſs than two, compoſe the regent, or, as it is otherwiſe called, the "white hood" houſe. All the reſt are ſtiled non-regents, or "black hoods." But doctors of more than two years ſtanding, and the public orator of the univerſity, may vote in either houſe, according to their pleaſure.

Every member of the ſenate has a right to propoſe any queſtion, or queſtions, he thinks proper, to the conſideration of this aſſembly.

Beſides the two houſes, we have a council called the "caput," which conſiſts of the vice-chancellor, a doctor in each faculty, and two maſters of arts, repreſentatives of the regent and non-regent houſes.

The vice-chancellor, who is annually elected by the ſenate upon the fourth of November, is a member of this council, by virtue of his office.

The election of the other members of this council is effected in the following manner.

The vice-chancellor, and the two proctors, ſeverally nominate five perſons, properly qualified for the truſt, and out of the fifteen, the heads of houſes and doctors chuſe five. But, in general, the gentlemen in the vice-chancellor's liſt are honoured with the appointment.

The caput is annually choſen upon the twelfth of October.

Every propoſition, or "grace," previouſly to its being voted by the two houſes, is to be read, and approved, by this council.

The ſix perſons, who form the caput, have, by queen Elizabeth's ſtatutes, each of them a negative; but they have ſeldom been known to uſe it, unleſs ſomething manifeſtly abſurd, or obviouſly derogatory to the credit of the univerſity, is propoſed; inſomuch, that nothing has been more common than for a perſon to give a "placet" in the caput, and a "non-placet" to the ſame queſtion, in the body, upon the idea, that the caput ſhould be conſidered in the light of a committee, to prepare the graces, in point of

of form, for the ſubſequent voting: as, without ſome ſuch regulation, it might be difficult to take the ſenſe of the ſenate, upon the real merits of the queſtion.

After a grace has paſſed the caput, it is read in the non-regent, and the regent houſe; and the queſtion remains ſuſpended, till the next congregation. If, after a ſecond reading in both houſes, it paſſes through without a non-placet, it becomes a ſtatute, provided the ſubject is of a public nature. If a non-placet is put in by a member of either houſe, it is voted in that houſe; and, in ſuch a caſe, the ſenſe of the majority prevails. If circumſtances require, that the grace ſhould be conſidered as a law, it formerly was the cuſtom to inſcribe it in the proctors' books: but this part of the proceſs has, of late years, been but ſeldom put in practice.

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, I proceed to give a ſhort narrative of our late proceedings; in the diſcloſing of which, I ſhall endeavour to demean myſelf as a perſon, who is unconſcious of any intereſted deſign, and whoſe ſole ambition is to ſerve the public, in a matter of acknowledged importance.

On

On the fourth of November 1772, Dr. Cooke, the preſent provoſt of King's college, upon his entrance into the office of vice-chancellor, made an excellent ſpeech to the univerſity; in which he treated, in general, of the extent and importance of academical education, and of the care and attention neceſſary in thoſe who ſhould conduct it, with ſo much ſpirit and good ſenſe, as induced me to hope, that the favourable moment was now arrived, for the introduction of my long projected inſtitution.

Having drawn up a plan of improvement, which, in ſubſtance, was the ſame with that now publiſhed, I ſent it to the vice-chancellor, with a ſhort addreſs, upon the twenty-firſt of November.

In this addreſs, I took occaſion to obſerve, that the prejudices conceived againſt me by ſome perſons of weight in the univerſity, might poſſibly obſtruct the execution of my project. I inſiſted upon the great probability, nay even apparent certainty, of ſucceſs, were the emendation to be propoſed in form, by the chief officer of the univerſity: at the ſame time aſſuring him, that I had

reaſon

reaſon to think, the inſtitution would be ſtrongly ſupported, were I even reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing it myſelf.

Two or three days after the delivery of my propoſal, the vice-chancellor invited me to a conference; wherein he behaved with all imaginable politeneſs. He made the proper inquires into the ſtate of our academical exerciſes, (he being at this time unacquainted with many parts of our diſcipline, on account of his long abſence from the univerſity,) and diſmiſſed me, with general aſſurances of his inclination to favour any ſcheme, which ſeemed likely to promote the cauſe of literature.

It is to be obſerved in this place, that, both in my written addreſs to the vice-chancellor, and in the ſubſequent converſation, I gave my free conſent, to his conferring upon the ſubject with any of his brethren.

For the ſpace of about four months, during which time the propoſal lay with the vice-chancellor, I took no further public ſteps in an affair, which, I conceived, was now in abler hands: I called two or three times in this interval, to make ſome inquiries

quiries concerning the opinion of the vice-chancellor, and of the heads of houſes, with reſpect to my project. His anſwers upon each viſit were guarded, and expreſſed in very general terms. At laſt, I plainly diſcerned, that, although he might be in his heart diſpoſed to wiſh well to any project of reformation, he was not inclined to combat the difficulties, which might poſſibly have been thrown in his way, had he attempted to reduce his good intentions into practice.

And ſince that time, I have had abundant reaſon to conclude, that in this, as well as many other inſtances, he permitted himſelf to be influenced by the counſels of a perſon, who has always manifeſted an hoſtile diſpoſition to the propoſed inſtitution; and who has even ventured to hint, that he will diſpute the power of the univerſity to enforce obedience to the meaſure, in caſe the ſenate ſhould think proper to conſent to its introduction.

Diſappointed, therefore, in the pleaſing expectations, which I had once entertained, of ſeeing my project introduced under ſo reſpectable a patronage, I deſired the printer

of

of the univerſity to wait upon the vice-chancellor, for an "imprimatur" to my "Remarks." Upon being made acquainted with the contents of my tract, he immediately granted the requeſt; but did not hold any further converſations with me upon the ſubject of my propoſal.

The tract was publiſhed on the ſixth of April. I immediately ſent a copy to the vice-chancellor, to the heads of houſes, and every tutor in the univerſity. And had ſoon the pleaſure to find, that the propoſed inſtitution was received with ſuch marks of approbation, as might reaſonably induce me to indulge the moſt flattering expectations of ſucceſs.

Upon the ſixteenth of April, I publiſhed a ſecond edition, with ſome minute alterations; and, on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, a poſtſcript; at the end of which, I ſubjoined the following declaration.

"If no material objection ſhall be urged againſt the preceding plan, the propoſer will offer a grace for its eſtabliſhment, upon ſome day before the diviſion of the preſent term."

During

During the period that elapſed between the firſt publication of my propoſal, and the offering of my grace, no objection was urged either in public, or in private, as far as I could collect, againſt the eſtabliſhment of annual examinations. But, as doubts were raiſed with reſpect to ſome particulars in the method, I had laid down, of carrying the deſign into effect, it was ſuggeſted to me by a judicious friend, that it might be adviſable to propoſe the ſingle queſtion of the expediency of annual examinations to the votes of the ſenate; and to inſert, in my intended grace, a clauſe for the appointment of a committee of learned and active perſons, to draw up a plan for the execution; with a proviſo, that the ſcheme, which approved itſelf to their judgment, ſhould not be conſidered as the reſolution of the univerſity, until it had been voted in form by the ſenate.

In compliance with this advice, I drew up the following grace, and ſent a copy of it, before it was offered in the ſenate-houſe, to every member of the caput; at the ſame time,

time, taking the proper meaſures to have my intentions publiſhed in the univerſity.

A Grace for the eſtabliſhment of annual examinations.

"Cum reipublicæ noſtræ plurimum intereſſe videatur, ut publicum examen, in literis humanioribus, æque ac in mathematicis et philoſophicis diſciplinis, quotannis ſubeat tota juventus academica;

"Placeat vobis, ut ejuſmodi examen in poſterum celebretur; et ut [Dominus procancellarius, Dr. Caryl, Dr. Plumptre collegii Reginalis, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Watſon, Dr. Hallifax, Mr. Collier, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Poſtlethwaite, Mr. Joannes Hey, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Barker collegii Reginalis, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Mr. Gould, Mr. Paley, Mr. Squire, Mr. Naſmith, Mr. Arnald, et Mr. Pearce, vel eorum quinque, quorum unus ſemper ſit Dominus procancellarius, ſint ſyndici veſtri] ad conſultandum de modo examinatores eligendi, et cætera quæ ad hanc rem ſpectant ritè tranſigendi; ita tamen ut quod iis placuerit minimè ſtatuti vim habeat, niſi poſtea veſtris ſuffragiis comprobetur."

Upon

Upon the eighth of May, I offered my grace in form to the caput.

After three quarters of an hour ſpent in deliberation, during which time, as it afterwards appeared, the partiality of the ſyndicate, as not containing a complete repreſentation of the colleges, was chiefly objected to, Dr. Powell put in his non-placet, (in giving which he was not ſingle,) and the grace was conſequently rejected.

When the vice-chancellor returned to me the grace, I deſired, that he would condeſcend to acquaint me with the reaſon of its rejection; but no anſwer was made to my requeſt.

Upon the tenth of May, I ſent the following note to three of the gentlemen, who compoſed the caput, having made a ſimilar declaration to the other three in perſon.

" Mr. Jebb preſents his compliments to Dr. ——, begs leave to ſend him the copy of a grace, which it is his preſent intention to offer to the caput, at the next congregation. If any exception ſhould be taken to the form, before or at the time of preſentation, Mr. Jebb will, with all due reſpect,

attend

attend to what ſhall be urged by the gentlemen of the caput, upon ſuch occaſion; as he has no other object in view, than to take the ſenſe of the body of the univerſity, upon the merits of the main queſtion."

This grace was in ſubſtance the ſame as the firſt. It differed from it only in the appointment of the Syndicate or committee. In the place of the words and names between the brackets, were inſerted the following words, " ſyndici nominentur auctoritate ſenatûs."

No objection being urged by any member of the caput, I propoſed my ſecond grace to that council, at three o'clock in the afternoon, upon the twelfth of May. After ſome time ſpent in debate, the vice-chancellor ſent for me, and informed me, that my grace was rejected, and gave the following reaſons for the procedure, viz. Informalities in the mode of conſtructing the grace; improprieties in the expreſſion; and the want of time for the conſideration of a ſubject, in its nature ſo important. As I had reaſon to ſuſpect from a converſation, which paſſed that morning between the regiſtrary of the

univerſity and myſelf, that the idea of leaving the choice of ſyndics to the ſenate, might poſſibly be objected to, as unprecedented, I had prepared a third grace, which, at the cloſe of the vice-chancellor's declaration, I propoſed to the caput. This grace was allowed to contain a fair and impartial repreſentation of all orders of men in our univerſity. At the ſame time, another objection, which I very accidentally heard had been urged againſt the former grace, was removed. In the place of the words and names between the brackets, was now inſerted as follows, " Dominus procancellarius, Dr. Caryl, Dr. Plumptre collegii Reginalis, Dr. Brown, Dr. Watſon, Dr. Hallifax, Dr. Waring, Mr. Beadon, Mr. Collier, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Thorpe, Mr. Longmire, Mr. Joannes Hey, Mr. Gould, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Jepſon, Mr. Paley, Mr. Squire, Mr. Naſmith, Mr. Arnald, et Mr. Pearce, vel eorum ſeptem, quorum unus ſemper ſit Dominus procancellarius, ſint ſyndici veſtri."

This alſo was rejected. Immediately aferwards I propoſed a fourth; in which, inſtead

inſtead of the words and names between the brackets, were inſerted theſe words, "Syndici undeviginti a procancellario veſtro, quorum ipſe unus ſit, infra dies vicenos nominentur."

The council broke up ſoon after the reading of this grace; and the vice-chancellor informed me, that it had met with the ſame fate as the preceding.

It is alſo to be noted, that, upon the offering of the third of my graces, to the conſideration of the caput, mention was made by Dr. Powell, of a grace, to prevent me from offering any more graces, upon the ſubject of annual examinations. A doubt being immediately ſtarted by one of the gentlemen then preſent, whether a grace, of ſuch a complexion, would be well received by the two houſes, Dr. Powell replied, he would undertake for its ſucceſs. But having reaſon to ſuſpect, from the manner, in which his propoſition was received by his brethren, that a negative would be put upon his motion, were he to propoſe it in form, he thought it moſt prudent to change the ſubject of diſcourſe.

Upon the twenty-fifth of June, I retired

into the country, having publicly expreſſed my intention, of perſevering in my application to the caput, until the point in queſtion ſhould be ſtatutably decided by the ſuffrages of the ſenate.

Upon the fifth of July, the following grace was propoſed, by the vice-chancellor, which paſſed the caput, and both houſes, without a diviſion.

" Cum reipublicæ noſtræ nonnullis intereſſe videatur, publicum quotannis totius juventutis academicæ examen inſtitui; idque ipſi publicè nos et obnixè expoſcant et efflagitent;

" Ne rem tam ſpecioſam aut neglectui prorſus habuiſſe, aut tam novam, tantique momenti, temerè nimis et inconſultò arripuiſſe, academiæ vitio vertatur;

" Placeat vobis ut omnes collegiorum omnium præfecti, tres regii profeſſores in theologiâ, jure civili, et medicinâ, ſeniores duo e collegiis ſanctæ trinitatis et Divi Joannis tutores, et ſenior quiſque ex omni alio collegio tutor, ſint ſyndici veſtri, qui convocante procancellario conveniant, collatiſque inter

inter ſe conſiliis deliberent et dijudicent, an fieri omnino poſſit ut iſtiuſmodi examinationes commode habeantur; an ut habeantur expediat; quo modo, quo loco, quo tempore, quibus præſidibus, quibus examinantibus, commodiſſime et ad uberrimum in bonis omnibus literis profectum utiliſſime haberi poſſunt; quicquid denique iis, vel procancellario, et majori eorum parti viſum fuerit, in ſcripta digeſtum referant, et die primo Januarii proxime inſequentis apud procancellarium deponant, cum ipſo protinus cancellario communicandum, veſtriſque ita demum ſuffragiis legitime atque ordine ſanciendum."

As the terms of the grace did not require, that the chancellor ſhould be made acquainted with the reſolutions of the committee, 'till the firſt day of the enſuing January, it was naturally to be expected, that the deciſion of the main queſtion would not have taken place, 'till after the diviſion of the Michaelmas term; which happens on, or about, the 12th of November: this being the time, when, on account of lectures, the preſence

of the tutors is rendered indiſpenſable. The committee, however, was convoked, by the rev. Dr. Cooke, upon 21ſt of October. The debate, according to the beſt information, ſeems to have laſted ſomething more than half an hour. At length, the votes being taken by ſecret ſcrutiny, fourteen appeared to be againſt the inſtitution, and nine in its favour. The proceſs was as follows: the queſtion, concerning the practicability of the propoſed inſtitution, was written upon a ſheet of paper, and laid upon a table, placed in the middle of the room. The words, in which it was expreſſed, were taken from the grace, viz. "an fieri omnino poſſit ut iſtiuſmodi examinationes commode habeantur." Immediately under the queſtion, were drawn two lines, with the words "placet," and "non-placet," at their extremity. The company ſat in different parts of the room, at a diſtance from the table. When the voting began, the junior tutor approached the table, made a ſcratch upon one of theſe lines, and then retired to his place. His example was followed by the reſt of the gentlemen in their order, 'till the whole number

number of perſons preſent, conſiſting of three-and-twenty, had given their ſuffrages.

In the beginning of laſt November, I publiſhed a continuation of my narrative; and, in a ſeries of obſervations, upon the conduct of the committee, endeavoured to evince the informality of its proceedings.*

[* The following note is extracted from the ſhort tract here referred to, entitled, " A Continuation of the narrative of academical proceedings, relative to the propoſal for the eſtabliſhment of annual examinations in the univerſity of Cambridge; with obſervations upon the conduct of the committee, appointed by grace of the ſenate, on the 5th of July, 1773." This extract contains all the original matter, not to be found in the " Remarks," and is printed here, in order to unite the obſervations, and preſerve their connection with the narrative.]

I hope I ſhall not be ſuſpected of a diſpoſition to cavil, if I ſay, that ſome material informalities appear in the conduct of the committee upon this occaſion. The words, " quicquid denique iis, vel procancellario, et majori eorum parti viſum fuerit," ſeem to require, that every reſolution ſhould appear to be the opinion of an abſolute majority of thoſe perſons who were named in the committee; i. e. the opinion of at leaſt nineteen of its members; the whole number of perſons named being thirty-ſix. Whereas it is confeſſed on all ſides, that only fourteen voted againſt the practicability of the inſtitution,

Upon the fourteenth of December, I propoſed the following grace to the caput of the

ſtitution. The word "eorum" plainly refers to "all" the perſons named in the grace. If nothing more was intended by the gentleman who propoſed this grace, than that the preſence of a majority of the whole number, with the vice-chancellor at their head, ſhould be neceſſary in order to proceed to buſineſs, he would, no doubt, in compliance with the cuſtomary form, have expreſſed himſelf as follows: "PLACEAT VOBIS ut omnes collegiorum omnium præfecti, tres regii profeſſores in theologiâ, jure civili, et medicinâ, ſeniores duo e collegiis ſanctæ trinitatis et Divi Joannis tutores, et ſenior quiſque ex omni alio collegio tutor, VEL EORUM NOVENDECIM, QUORUM UNUS SEMPER SIT DOMINUS PROCANCELLARIUS, ſint ſyndici veſtri," &c. A ſlight inſpection into our grace-books will, I truſt, convince the reader of the reaſonableneſs of this remark.

But this reaſoning may perhaps appear to be invalidated by urging, that, according to this interpretation, the vice-chancellor would have a negative in every queſtion debated by the committee; and it may be contended, that it is abſurd to ſuppoſe it to be the wiſh of the late vice-chancellor, that ſuch unconſcionable powers ſhould be conceded by the grace. The hiſtory, however, of the concomitant circumſtances, is ſufficient to convince the moſt incredulous, that ſuch confidence was intended to be repoſed in the vice-chancellor. The actions of men are frequently guided by an influence not diſcernible by themſelves; and, I believe, it is a pretty

general

the univerſity, Dr. Caryl being vice-chancellor, and Dr. Brown, Dr. Hallifax, Dr. Plumptre,

general perſuaſion, that in this, as well as other inſtances, the late vice-chancellor, who appears to me to have rather wiſhed well to the inſtitution in the main, permitted himſelf to be directed by the counſels of a perſon, who has always manifeſted an hoſtile diſpoſition to the propoſed eſtabliſhment, and whoſe conduct in the committee forbids us to ſuppoſe, that he would ever have permitted the preceding grace to have paſſed the caput, unleſs he had been convinced, that it contained in itſelf the ſeeds of its own inevitable deſtruction.*

If, then, according to the tenor of the grace, the conſent of an abſolute majority of the committee, with the vice-chancellor among the number, be required, in order to give validity to a reſolution, a ſecond informality diſcloſes itſelf in the proceedings of the 21ſt of October. The votes of the aſſembly ſhould not have been taken by ſecret ſcrutiny, which all the gentlemen preſent, with whom I have converſed upon the ſubject, acknowledge was the fact. Doubts may ariſe in the breaſts of every member of the ſenate, whether the vice-chancellor was in the majority; a circumſtance which ſhould certainly appear to have been the caſe, when the report is made to the chancellor and to the ſenate.

Upon inſpection into the grace, it alſo will appear reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the opinion of the committee, upon a ſubject of ſuch conſequence, would have been delivered with circumſtances of greater ſolemnity; and its act have been recorded in writing, and ſigned by

[* See before, p. 316.]

Plumptre, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Coulſton, being members of that council, at the time of its preſentation.

" Cum

by the chairman of the aſſembly. Nor will it avail the opponents of the meaſure to plead, that ſuch formality was only required in caſe a plan had been drawn up for the execution. The words " in ſcripta digeſtum referant," expreſsly point to whatever might happen to become the ſubject of deliberation. And although ſuch concluſion were not to be inferred from the poſitive terms of the grace, yet reſpect to the authority, which gave the commiſſion, rendered ſuch procedure in this inſtance indiſpenſable; for, moſt ſurely, the ſenate has a claim to the ampleſt information with reſpect to the reaſons that inclined its committee to declare a meaſure impracticable, which was known to have been eſteemed not only practicable, but expedient, nay even neceſſary, in the judgment of a very large proportion of its members.

I would draw the following concluſions from the preceding obſervations, viz.

That the members of the committee, who, in obedience to the ſummons of the vice-chancellor, met upon the 21ſt of October, and determined the queſtion of the practicability of annual examinations in the negative, have not acted, in ſome eſſential points, conformably to the grace from which they derived their authority; and, that the reſolution of the majority on that day, has no greater degree of validity, than the reſolutions of the majority of the members of any private ſociety, when that majority amounts not to the preciſe number expreſſed in their ſtatutes.

I ſhall

" Cum quatuordecim ex triginta ſex ſyndicis, die quinto Julii conſtitutis, viſum fuerit, annuum examen totius juventutis academicæ non poſſe commode haberi; et cum quæſtio orta ſit, utrum in hoc caſu gratiæ, a vobis eodem tempore conceſſæ, ſatisfactum ſit, quæ poſtulare videtur, ut ea ſolummodo firma ſit ſententia, in quam Dominus procancellarius, et major pars totius numeri ſyndicorum abierunt;

" Placeat vobis, ut ſyndici prædicti, Domino

I ſhall laſtly obſerve, that if the fourteen gentlemen, who voted againſt the practicability of the inſtitution upon the 21ſt of October, ſhould hereafter endeavour to obtain the concurrence of five more of their brethren, in order to form a majority of the committee, ſuch meaſure muſt be looked upon as exceptionable, unleſs the whole matter be again debated at a ſubſequent meeting. The terms of the grace are expreſs with reſpect to this point alſo: " convocante procancellario conveniant, COLLATISQUE INTER SE CONSILIIS deliberent, et dijudicent, &c."—Words which plainly imply, that no reſolution can be valid, unleſs the ſubject matter it of be openly diſcuſſed, and the queſtion finally decided, by the members of the committee, during the time of their ſtatutable aſſembly.

My attempts have not hitherto been attended with ſucceſs; yet the judgment I have formed of the importance

mino procancellario convocante, conveniant, donec major pars totius numeri in unam ſententiam conſpiraverint; et ut eorundem placitum, in ſcripta digeſtum, ante diem primum Martii proxime inſequentis in ſenaculo veſtro publicetur."

This grace, after ſome deliberation, paſſed the caput; and was then read, for the firſt time, in both houſes.

Upon the evening of the ſame day, I reprinted the grace, paſſed upon the fifth of July,

portance of the cauſe, and the confidence, derived from the expectation that I ſhall be ſupported by the voice of an approving public, forbid me to deſpond. And if at laſt, after the exertion of every manly effort, overborn by the weight of prejudice, and circumvented in my endeavours to obtain a fair and candid deciſion of my queſtion, I ſhould be obliged to deſiſt, I ſhall not remain altogether without my conſolation; as, excluſively of the ſatisfaction derived from the approbation of the friends of learning and religion, I ſhall retire with the perſuaſion, that, in conſequence of my ſtruggles, the taſk of academical reformation will be rendered more eaſy to thoſe who ſhall hereafter be diſpoſed to undertake it; and ſhall, therefore, have laid in a fund of pleaſing reflections, more than ſufficient to compenſate for the anxieties, and ill treatment, which I have experienced in the proſecution of my deſign.

Cambridge, Nov. 4, 1773.

July, together with the preceding grace; and, in an appeal to the members of the ſenate, which was immediately circulated in the univerſity,* I again urged thoſe reaſons, which, in my apprehenſion, rendered invalid the reſolution of the twenty-firſt of October.

Upon the following day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, when, on account of the conteſted election of a chemical profeſſor, near three hundred members of the ſenate were preſent, my grace was read the ſecond time in the non-regent houſe. A non-placet being put in, it was voted in that houſe, and, upon the ſcrutiny, the numbers appeared as follow: non-placets 67, placets 38.

Thus, unconſcious of an intention to miſrepreſent the conduct of any gentleman concerned, I have continued my narrative to the preſent hour; and have, with all faithfulneſs, unfolded the moſt material circumſtances, attending the propoſal of an inſtitution, which has long appeared to me moſt likely to reſtore our credit with the public. An inſtitution, which, after many ineffectual remon-

[* Containing the ſubſtance of the preceding note.]

remonſtrances of a more private nature, I was at length prevailed upon to propoſe to our academical corporation, upon the encouragement of perſons, whoſe characters I reverence, and whoſe opinions, in whatever relates to the advancement of literature, and the honour of our univerſity, I think it wiſdom to reſpect.

This encouragement, I truſt, would be a ſufficient apology, in the eſtimation of an indulgent public, for the part I have taken in a queſtion, which I was induced to engage in, from a principle of affection to the intereſts of our univerſity, and a deſire of being uſeful in my generation, without the remoteſt proſpect of temporal emolument to myſelf. But I reſt my defence upon the merits of my cauſe. Upon the ſame baſis, I reſt my expectations of ſucceſs. If I have formed a wrong judgment concerning the neceſſity of academical reformation; if the plan I have propoſed, after that fair and candid diſcuſſion, which is generally afforded to every ſubject of apparent conſequence, ſhall prove to be either impracticable or inexpedient; the ſyſtem itſelf, together with the arguments

ments urged in its favour, will ſoon be conſigned to deſerved oblivion. On the contrary, if, upon an impartial inquiry into the real ſtate of the caſe, ſentiments of a different nature ſhould prevail, the preceding inſtitution, haply approved by the friends of learning and religion, may find an advocate in every thoughtful parent's breaſt: and, in ſuch circumſtances, neither the force of partial intereſts, nor of unworthy prejudices, will any longer be able to obſtruct its eſtabliſhment.

Cambridge, December 20, 1773.

A

PROPOSAL

FOR

THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS,

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

WITH OCCASIONAL REMARKS.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXIV.

A PROPOSAL, &c.

IT has frequently been aſſerted, that the ſeparation of the orders, the ſeverity of the penalty, in caſe of non-attendance, together with the requiſition of a greater degree of proficiency in literature, than is provided for in the public lectures of each ſociety, were the main reaſons that occaſioned the rejection of the graces, propoſed on the 19th of laſt April, for the eſtabliſhment of public examinations in the univerſity of Cambridge.

An opinion alſo very generally prevailed, that ſome of the regulations, recommended by the ſyndics, would have ſucceeded, if they had been ſeparately ſubmitted to the ſuffrages of the ſenate.

It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that there is ſufficient ground to indulge the pleaſing expectation, that if ſuch temperaments were propoſed, as fully obviated the preceding objections, the plan of the very learned and

very able committee might ſtill be adopted in its moſt eſſential parts; and thus the univerſity derive credit, and the nation ſubſtantial advantage, from the labours of a ſet of men, whoſe acknowledged abilities and reſpectable ſtation, in a peculiar manner, qualified them for the diſcharge of their important truſt.

With this view, a member of the academical ſenate begs leave to ſuggeſt the following modification of the late committee's ſcheme. He has carefully conſulted ſome of the moſt judicious of his friends upon the ſubject-matter of every article: he has endeavoured to draw it up in ſuch a manner, that the whole, taken together, may form one conſiſtent, practicable plan; while at the ſame time it is ſo conſtructed, that the ſentiments of the ſenate may be ſeparately taken upon each conſtituent part; in order, that, if neceſſity require, corrections and amendments may be admitted in every ſubſequent portion of the inſtitution, without injury to thoſe that may happen to be previouſly approved.

It

It is his intention to proceed upon the following principle, viz.

That although the youth of this place have, in general, ſufficient means of information afforded to them by the public tutors, yet that ſomething is wanted to ſecure a proper degree of attention to the cuſtomary courſe of college lectures.*

* It may be expected, that, as this is a fundamental principle, I ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh it by a proof from facts.

But to enter into ſuch a detail as would be neceſſary for this purpoſe, cannot certainly be a pleaſing employment to an academical man.

And as what I reluctantly inſerted, relative to this ſubject, in a former publication, (ſee p. 262—277.) has never been controverted, I will ſpare myſelf the diſagreeable recital.

Upon the preſent occaſion, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the friends of the univerſity have frequently lamented the prevalence of the evil I allude to, viz. an almoſt univerſal inattention to every ſpecies of uſeful literature, accompanied with an increaſing ſpirit of diſſipation and extravagance, in all the orders of our youth.

And, that there appears to be a very general conviction in the nation, that theſe diſorders, whether they derive themſelves from a relaxed ſtate of diſcipline, or the exceſſes of parental indulgence, require the introduction of an inſtitution, more adapted to the preſent exigencies, than any hitherto eſtabliſhed in either univerſity,

With a view of effecting this deſirable purpoſe, it is propoſed,

I. That a public examination of ſuch noblemen and fellow-commoners, as have been admitted ſince the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or ſhall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, be held in the ſenate-houſe, at ſome time, hereafter to be appointed in the year 1776.

II. That a public examination of ſuch penſioners and ſizars, as have been admitted ſince the friday, next after the commencement 1774, or ſhall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1775, be held in the ſenate-houſe, at ſome time, hereafter to be appointed, in the year 1776.

III. That theſe examinations be united, ſo as to conſtitute one examination of all the ſtudents admitted as above.

IV. That this examination be held upon the third monday, tueſday, and wedneſday in November 1776, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tueſday.

V. That each perſon attending this examination

amination be examined in the latin and greek claſſics, and the elements of geometry and algebra.

VI. That, at this examination, the examiners hereafter to be appointed declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the perſons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the beſt ſcholars, not diſtinguiſhing more than a third part, and placing the perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed according to their reſpective order of merit; and that ſuch declaration be publiſhed by the ſenior proctor to the ſenate, at the next following congregation, and copies thereof ſent by him to each college.

VII. That each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as above, be ſubjected to one other public examination, and that ſuch examination be held upon the fourth monday, tueſday and wedneſday in November 1777, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tueſday.

VIII. That each perſon, attending this examination, be examined in Locke's Eſſay on the human underſtanding; natural philoſophy; and modern hiſtory.

IX. That at this ſecond examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, in November 1777, the examiners hereafter to be appointed declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the perſons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the beſt ſcholars, not diſtinguiſhing more than a third part, and placing the perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed according to their reſpective order of merit; and that ſuch declaration be publiſhed by the vice-chancellor to the ſenate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof tranſmitted by him to the chancellor of the univerſity, and ſent to each college.

X. That perſons changing their order to become fellow-commoners be, in the examinations, claſſed with ſuch as are of the ſame ſtanding with themſelves by admiſſion.

XI. That any nobleman and fellow-commoner admitted as above, and having been reſident, who ſhall abſent himſelf from either of the preceding examinations, and any penſioner and ſizar, in the ſame circumſtances, who ſhall abſent himſelf from the firſt, without

out ſufficient reaſon, ſhall be publicly admoniſhed, or ſubjected to ſuch other academical cenſure, ſhort of ruſtication, as the vice-chancellor and the two proctors, or the vice-chancellor with one proctor, ſhall think the caſe deſerves: that a reaſon, certified to the vice-chancellor by the maſter or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then reſident, be deemed ſufficient to excuſe any perſon's abſence from a whole examination: and that a reaſon, approved by the major part of the ſeven examiners, hereafter to be appointed, be deemed ſufficient to excuſe any perſon's abſence from any part of an examination.

XII. That a ſimilar courſe be obſerved in the caſe of all the academic youth, who ſhall be admitted in each ſucceeding year.

XIII. That ſeven examiners, members of the ſenate, or bachelors of law or phyſic, be annually appointed from the ſeveral colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity: except that Trinity-hall be added to King's college, and that the mode of appointing

pointing its own examiners be left to each college.

XIV. That King's college ſhall appoint an examiner each of the firſt two years, and Trinity-hall the third year, and ſo always: that where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they have the appointment according to ſeniority of foundation: and that the ſeven examiners, ſo appointed, be preſented to the vice-chancellor, on or before the 11th of June every year.

XV. That at the firſt examination in November 1776, all the ſeven examiners examine ſuch ſtudents as ſhall then attend: that at the examinations in November 1777, the two ſenior of the ſeven examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the ſenior year; the other five, the ſtudents of the junior year, and ſo always.

XVI. That beſides the ſeven appointed examiners, any member of the ſenate, or bachelor of law or phyſic, be at liberty to examine.

XVII. That each of the ſeven examiners receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the univerſity cheſt: that every nobleman

man and fellow-commoner, who ſhall be admitted after the 12th of November 1774, pay at his admiſſion two guineas, and every penſioner half a guinea, towards replacing in the cheſt ſuch ſums as ſhall be thence ſo iſſued: and that all perſons already admitted and ſubjected to the above-mentioned examinations, be charged with the ſame payments at the cloſe of the preſent quarter.

XVIII. That the monies ſo charged at the admiſſions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and penſioners, be accounted for to the vice-chancellor, on the ſaturdays, next before the days of examination, by their reſpective tutors, who ſhall, at the ſame times, deliver liſts of ſuch of their pupils, as are to be examined, with the dates of their admiſſions.*

If the preceding plan were put in execution, it is humbly conceived, that the fellow-commoners and penſioners may continue to attend the ſame public lectures; that it would

* [The propoſitions which were ſubmitted to the ſenate, Oct. 28, 1774, were a reviſed copy of the foregoing, and are preſerved under that date, in the memoirs of the life of the author.]

would correſpond with the general courſe, given at preſent in every college, during the firſt and ſecond years of reſidence; and that it would not materially interfere with the ſcheme of examinations now eſtabliſhed at St. John's college.*

But in order that the advantages, which I apprehend would reſult from the eſtabliſhment of the late committee's regulations, as modified in the foregoing pages, may be more clearly diſcerned, I will ſubjoin ſome obſervations in a regular ſeries, upon ſuch of the preceding propoſitions, as ſeem to require illuſtration.

I. I truſt that there is no occaſion to begin theſe

* This laſt is a circumſtance, which, without a compliment to a gentleman, who certainly merits none at my hands, is unqueſtionably deſerving of ſome attention. For, as, on the one ſide, it is not reaſonable that the univerſity ſhould decline embracing a meaſure, that is likely to be attended with general advantage, becauſe it may, perhaps, render leſs neceſſary Dr. Powell's merely local inſtitution; ſo, on the other, it is but fair and equitable, that the ſcheme of literary diſcipline, adopted by the univerſity, ſhould be conſtructed in ſuch a manner, as not to run counter to the doctor's long eſtabliſhed particular courſe, which has hitherto been very ſucceſsful, unleſs the moſt evident neceſſity ſhould ſo require.

theſe obſervations with a demonſtration of the expediency of the propoſed inſtitution, in the caſe of youth of ſuperior rank and fortune. I will only add, to what I have already obſerved in my former publication on this ſubject, that it is not merely the reſidence of noble youth, which gives a luſtre to this ſeminary; nor is it the recollection of the pleaſurable ſcenes they have enjoyed here, which endears the remembrance of it to them at a future period. It is only by the conſciouſneſs that we have contributed to the forming of their minds to a love of virtue and a love of ſcience, that we can be enabled hereafter to recognize our relation to them with real ſentiments of ſatisfaction. And it is the full conviction on their part, that they have derived from us the principles of ſound morality, the rudiments of uſeful knowledge, that can alone induce them to regard us with a reciprocal eſteem.

II. As the bachelor's degree, on account of its diſtance from the time of admiſſion, does not ſeem to furniſh a ſufficient incentive to youthful emulation, at the ſeaſon when ſuch a principle would be of greateſt

uſe,

uſe, the inſtitution of at leaſt one examination of the penſioners and ſizars, at an earlier period, appears to be an expedient, and, indeed, a very neceſſary meaſure. Further arguments in favour of ſuch an inſtitution may be collected from what I have noticed, with reſpect to the preſent mode of education at Cambridge, in my "Remarks" on that ſubject.

The judicious reſolution, cited below,* will,

* Declaration publiſhed by the vice-chancellor, May 20, 1774.

(COPY.)

"Whereas it appears to be the general opinion of thoſe, who have of late years examined the candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts, that ſuch candidates have applied too much to the abſtruſer parts of mathematics, neglecting the ſtudy of natural philoſophy, and even of the elements of mathematics; which opinion prevailed alſo among the ſyndics, appointed to deliberate upon the grace which paſſed the ſenate on the 17th of February laſt, as is manifeſt from the 19th of their reſolutions:

"The vice-chancellor takes the liberty of deſiring the tutors of every college to communicate to their pupils the following reſolution, which, he is authoriſed to ſay, has been agreed upon by thoſe perſons, who are likely to be the proctors and moderators of the enſuing year.

"That

will, in all probability, produce the intended effect. It may be the means of ſubſtituting ſubſtantial ſcience in the place of that vain ſemblance of it, which, of late, has ſo much diſgraced us. But as it provides no remedy for that early diſſipation, which the utmoſt diligence of the tutors hath hitherto been unable to prevent, the reaſons for introducing a more powerful call to attention, than ſubſiſts at preſent, ſtill remain in full force. *

It

" That unleſs a perſon be found to have a competent knowledge of Euclid's Elements, and of the plainer parts of the four branches of natural philoſophy, no attention will be paid to his other mathematical knowledge. And that in every branch of ſcience, the cleareſt and moſt accurate knowledge, rather than the moſt extenſive, will be regarded as the beſt claim to academical honours."

* It may be further obſerved under this head, that although very valuable improvements in uſeful literature may be expected to flow from the inſtitution in queſtion; yet that the means of attaining theſe very improvements are intended to be ſubſervient alſo to objects ſtill more noble and important. Idleneſs is the root of every evil. But the youth, whoſe opening powers of reaſon are invited to unfold themſelves by the call of emulation, and who is, for the moſt part, uſefully employed, will, in all probability, be temperate, frugal, and diſcreet, with reſpect to every other part of his demeanour.

It is alſo ſubmitted to the judgment of thoſe gentlemen, who are apprehenſive that the intereſts of mathematics will be affected by any alterations in our ſyſtem, whether the application of the penſioner and ſizar to the courſe, preſcribed for the degree of bachelor of arts, can poſſibly be endangered by an examination, intended to take place above two years before the examination for ſuch degree, and of which the elements of algebra and Euclid are to form a part.

III. I have already hinted to my readers, that the ſeparation of the noblemen and fellow-commoners from the penſioners and ſizars, in the ſcheme of examinations propoſed by the ſyndicate, was conſidered as a material and fundamental objection againſt the whole inſtitution.

It was urged in favour of ſuch ſeparation, that the views and purſuits of the ſtudents of the higher orders being materially different from thoſe of inferior degree, it was reaſonable that their courſe of ſtudy ſhould be alſo different.

It was further maintained, that many ſtudents of family and fortune would be diſcouraged

couraged by the too probable ill ſucceſs of their labours; inaſmuch as they muſt foreſee, that in moſt inſtances they would be out-done by thoſe perſons, in whoſe caſe the call of neceſſity would be added to the incentive of emulation.

On the other ſide, it was aſſerted, that a ſeparation of the orders, upon ſuch an occaſion, and a diſtinction of ſtudies, would not be ſtrictly academical, and might be eſteemed invidious: that ſome perſons were to be found in the rank of penſioners, ſuperior in point both of family and fortune, to ſeveral of the order above them: that the noblemen and fellow-commoners, having more expended on their education, come generally better prepared in claſſical knowledge; had often an higher ſenſe of honour, in conſequence of their ſuperior ſtation; and that in St. John's college, where they were examined indiſcriminately with the reſt, no inconveniencies, but, on the contrary, great advantages, were derived from ſubjecting all orders to the ſame diſcipline, and from propoſing to the emulation of all who attend

the ſame public lectures, the ſame rewards of ſucceſsful application.

I will not enter into a minute diſcuſſion of the merits of this controverſy. I will only beg leave to refer it to the conſideration of my attentive reader, whether, by uniting all orders in an examination at the cloſe of the firſt year, and by ſubjecting only noblemen and fellow-commoners to a ſecond examination, every inconvenience, inſiſted upon by the partizans of either ſide of the queſtion, may not be happily avoided.

IV. The month of November, 1776, is thought preferable to any other ſeaſon, for the firſt examination of the ſtudents, admitted as above; becauſe, at that time, the ſtudents of all denominations will have gone through a complete courſe of lectures with the public tutors, in claſſics, algebra, and Euclid; and alſo have had ſufficient leiſure, during the ſummer months, to review and to digeſt thoſe lectures: the initiatory courſe in every ſociety beginning in November, and ending in June following. The time of vacation will alſo probably be ſhortened, in conſequence of this arrangement, as the ſtudents

dents will be diſpoſed to return earlier in October than they are wont to do at preſent, in order the better to prepare themſelves for the enſuing examination.

V. An examination in the latin and greek claſſics, although it may afford to the induſtrious ſtudent an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf alſo in compoſition, and in ancient hiſtory, will not require ſo great a degree of application as may be at firſt ſuppoſed. Nor will a preparation for it preclude a proper meaſure of improvement, in the elementary parts of geometry and algebra.

It muſt be conſidered, that, with reſpect to claſſical knowledge, the ſtudent comes to the univerſity already prepared. And if this ſhould not univerſally be the caſe, yet the eſtabliſhment of academical examinations will, by a reflex act, ſecure a greater degree of previous attention to this ſpecies of literature in each inferior ſeminary. This examination alſo will naturally be underſtood to be reſtrained to ſuch books as are the ſubject of college lectures, or moſt commonly are read in ſchools.

But if it be the preſent ſentiment, or experience ſhould hereafter prove, that the propoſition is too indefinite, particular books, or portions of books, may be ſpecified by ſubſequent regulations, as circumſtances ſhall require.

In order more diſtinctly to perceive the propriety of an examination in the elements of algebra and geometry, it will be neceſſary to recollect, that the more immediate purpoſe of public examinations is to engage the attention of youth to the cuſtomary courſe of college lectures. * This courſe, for the firſt year, conſiſts of lectures in claſſics, in arithmetic, the fundamental principles of algebra,

* I am happy in finding myſelf to be of the ſame opinion, as to the immediate end of public examinations, with the candid author of a Propoſal, dated April the 25th, 1774, which was circulated in the univerſity, and inſerted in many of the public papers. I will take the liberty of extracting the following ſentences from it, as containing the beſt illuſtration of my own idea. "The chief inſtruction which the youth of the univerſity receive is from the lectures of the tutors. If the public examinations can be adapted to theſe lectures, they muſt have a conſtant daily influence upon the hearers, and make them more attentive to every thing they are taught."

algebra, the elements of Euclid, and, in ſome few ſocieties, Duncan's logic. If it is improper that our academical youth, particularly thoſe of more elevated proſpects, ſhould be examined in ſuch ſubjects, lectures upon them are alſo improper. But no perſon, who reflects how much the judgment and invention are aſſiſted by a temperate exerciſe of the rational powers in mathematical purſuits, and in how ſhort a time, with proper application, a competency of this ſpecies of knowledge may be obtained, will be tempted to wiſh the minuteſt alteration in our initiatory courſe.

VI. Much has been urged, in converſation, by the opponents of the projected meaſures, to evince, that the paſſion of emulation, becauſe ſometimes found, in particular circumſtances, to be productive of envy, ought not to be encouraged in the breaſts of youth. And it has been contended, that no improvement in literature is likely to be attended with beneficial fruits in ſocial life, unleſs ſuch improvement be the reſult of a full conviction of its utility.

In reply to ſuch objections I would ob-

ſerve, that our preſent ſubject of debate is not concerning the beſt mode of educating youth, or the beſt motives to improvement in ſcience, but concerning the beſt means of obviating inconveniencies, that ariſe from a form of education already eſtabliſhed, and ſtill likely to prevail. Other modes of education have their peculiar advantages, which I by no means call in queſtion. But in a ſituation, circumſtanced as Cambridge, where faſhion and example, united with every other temptation to each ruinous and illiberal indulgence, exert an unremitted influence, in oppoſition to the calls of duty, and dictates of right reaſon, I will venture to affirm, that a very ſmall portion of the numbers, annually admitted there, conduct themſelves in ſuch a manner, as to ſatisfy the reaſonable expectations of their friends, without having found themſelves actuated, in ſome one period of their reſidence, by the generous glow of an emulative ſpirit. A very neceſſary caution is, however, to be obſerved in this caſe; and the ſyndics have, in fact, attended to it, with their uſual judgment. They have propoſed ſuch incitements as will

rouſe

rouſe the ſpirit of induſtry in the youth of courage and ability, without depreſſing the minds of thoſe, who, with parts leſs brilliant, or inferior reſolution, may ſtill be uſeful and valuable members of ſociety.

In the preſent inſtance, it may be contended, that as each ſtudent will afterwards have an opportunity of appearing with honour; viz. the nobleman and fellow-commoner in the following November; the penſioner and ſizar at the time of the bachelors degree; and as the names of thoſe, who have acquitted themſelves to the ſatisfaction of their examiners, will generally be known in the univerſity; the diſtinctions, propoſed in the article immediately under our conſideration, are not ſo neceſſary as in the ſubſequent examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners in November 1777. If this ſhould prove to be the general ſentiment, many objections, that have been urged againſt the joining of all orders of youth in the ſame examination, would immediately diſappear.

But, for my own part, I muſt confeſs, I ſee no objection to the eſtabliſhment of this

article in its preſent form. If, in the judgment of ſome, its expediency ſhould appear queſtionable, let ſuch recollect, that the ſame power, which eſtabliſhes, can alſo abrogate or amend, as experience, the grand correctreſs of human projects, ſhall appear to dictate.

VII. A ſecond examination of the penſioners and ſizars, whoſe minds at this time will begin to be agitated by the nearer proſpect of their degree, is certainly not ſo eſſential as a ſecond examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners; who, as it was before obſerved, generally leave us after a little more than two years reſidence. And yet, I muſt own, that I by no means perceive the force of the objection, frequently urged againſt ſuch examination, viz. that a preparation for it would interfere with their preparation for the public ſchools; in which they will be called upon to appear as diſputants in the enſuing January. But I believe the general opinion at Cambridge is unfavourable to the inſtitution of more than one examination for the penſioners and ſizars;

zars; and, therefore, more than one is not propoſed.

VIII. Claſſics are not propoſed as the ſubject matter of this examination, becauſe they are not contained in the courſe of college lectures for the ſecond year. Locke's Eſſay on the human underſtanding, if I am not deceived, forms a part of this courſe in all our ſocieties. And moſt unqueſtionably with great propriety; as it contains the principles of the ſoundeſt logic, of the moſt rational metaphyſics, and of the beſt morality. The ſtudy of natural philoſophy is not only pleaſing, but is pregnant alſo with innumerable advantages. The moſt popular parts are chiefly inſiſted upon in the public lectures, i. e. thoſe parts which are moſt eaſy of comprehenſion, and bear the moſt intimate connection with the exigencies and elegancies of ſocial life. The noblemen and fellow-commoners hear lectures upon its four branches, together with the ſtudents of the inferior orders; and, therefore, a proficiency, proportionable to the degree of attention, which is allowed to it in the lectures of the ſecond year, may with reaſon be expected.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that the courſe of ſtudy, traced out in this propoſition, as well as the ſyſtem of which it is a part, is capable of improvements. Proper amendments may hereafter be ſuggeſted; and will certainly be admitted with greater eaſe, if, previouſly recommended by the example of private ſocieties, they be gradually introduced into the general plan. But the foundation muſt firſt be laid in corrrected manners, and regularly formed habits of attention. The ſecuring of thoſe important points, which I truſt the eſtabliſhment of the projected inſtitution would enable us to accompliſh, is a preliminary ſtep, indiſpenſably neceſſary in our progreſs towards perfection.

It is preſumed that the inſertion of modern hiſtory, the only part of the propoſed courſe, which is not provided for in the lectures of each ſociety, will not appear liable to any juſt exceptions. An opportunity of information, deſerving of the moſt ſedulous attention, is now very generally afforded to the nobleman and fellow-commoner, in conſequence of the late inſtitution of public lectures on this intereſting ſubject.

IX. The

IX. The incitements to literary induſtry, contained in this propoſition, appear to be very judiciouſly ſuited to the caſe in queſtion. Were they to be adopted by our academical ſenate, Cambridge would ſoon be rendered, by the ſuperiority of her generous diſcipline, the favoured reſort of noble youth, and thus become a ſeminary, to which the nation might hereafter own itſelf indebted for the moſt illuſtrious examples of public virtue.

A book has lately been formed by the regiſtrary of the univerſity, for the purpoſe of inſerting the names of thoſe ſtudents, who have obtained, or ſhall hereafter obtain the medals and prizes, given by the chancellor and univerſity members; or ſhall be otherwiſe diſtinguiſhed for improvements in literature. It might not be improper to tranſcribe the honourable teſtimony, recommended by the ſyndicate in the preſent inſtance, into this book.

I would further obſerve, with reſpect to the article under conſideration, that our "alma mater" has every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that her preſent chancellor would not be in-

attentive

attentive to theſe authentic memorials of the literary merit of her ſons. If other evidences were wanting of an affectionate regard, his grace's very explicit, and truly honourable approbation of the regulations propoſed by the late committee, is ſufficient to convince us, that he is ſincerely diſpoſed to cooperate with us in every meaſure, which we ſhall judge conducive to the improvement of the noble and ingenuous youth, intruſted to our care, in habits of virtue and induſtrious application.

XI. The ſanction, contained in the tenth article of the regulations, propoſed by the late ſyndicate, was much objected to on account of its ſeverity. And ſome doubts were raiſed concerning the power of the univerſity to enforce its execution.

Without entering into the merits of this latter controverſy, I ſhall only obſerve, that if ſanctions leſs ſevere will ſecure the obedience of the ſtudent, they ought certainly to be adopted in preference to thoſe of a more rigorous kind; and that the moſt lenient meaſures ſhould always firſt be tried. As parents and guardians may naturally be expected

pected to add their influence to the authority of the tutors and the heads of houſes, it appears very improbable, that there ſhould be occaſion for the infliction of any academical cenſures whatſoever, at the firſt eſtabliſhment of the propoſed inſtitution; and ſtill more improbable, that there ſhould be a neceſſity for them at any future period.

It alſo deſerves to be conſidered, whether the apprehenſions of youth are not much more likely to be alarmed, and their cheerful compliance with the propoſed regulations conſequently impeded, when they perceive that an inſtitution, introduced for the purpoſe of calling forth the free exerciſe of their emulative powers, aſſumes a gloomy, melancholy air, the unavoidable conſequence of its being guarded by ſo ſevere a penalty as expulſion.

XIII. XIV. The mode of appointing the examiners, recommended in theſe articles, was ſo intirely approved by the univerſity, that it would be highly preſumptuous in me to propoſe the ſlighteſt amendment. The time of preſentation to the vice-chancellor is indeed unavoidably altered, on account of the

the propoſed alteration in the time of the examinations.

The more attentively the ſubject is conſidered, the more clearly, I am perſuaded, it will appear, that academical knowledge would, in various ways and meaſures, be advanced by the propoſed inſtitution. The degree of credit, that would neceſſarily be annexed to the office of an examiner, might be the means of inviting many of the reſident bachelors of arts, who are approaching to the rank of regent maſters, to a ſtill more animated degree of attention to each branch of uſeful literature.

XV. This method of dividing the number of the examiners is intended to have reſpect to the number of the ſtudents. It is ſuppoſed, that about twenty-five or thirty noblemen and fellow-commoners are admitted each year, and about an hundred or more of the inferior orders. If the former are always examined ſeparately from the reſt, there muſt alſo be a further diviſion of thoſe examiners, who are aſſigned to the junior year. But this may be eaſily ſettled among the examiners themſelves.

XVI. The

XVI. The plan of the examination, adopted in the reſolutions of the late ſyndicate, is the ſame with that which is purſued ſo ſucceſsfully at the time of the bachelor's degree, and is at large deſcribed in my former publication.

It has, however, frequently been urged as an objection to the regulations in queſtion, that all young men are not equally qualified to ſtand the terrors of a public examination: and, conſequently, that modeſt merit will often remain unrewarded.

I am not ſurpriſed that perſons, who are ſtrangers to our method of conducting public examinations, ſhould think that there is ſome force in this objection. But it is inconceivable that it ſhould ever ſeriouſly be urged by any gentleman, who is acquainted with the ſolemn trials of the ſtudents, every half year at St. John's college, and, every quarter, in the univerſity of Dublin.

In the former of theſe ſeminaries, the queſtions are propoſed, and the anſwers given, in the preſence of the whole ſociety; in the latter, in the hearing of the diviſion, which

which conſiſts ſometimes of between twenty and thirty perſons. Whereas in the examination for the bachelors degree, which is propoſed as the model of the new examinations, being indeed the only practicable model, ſeldom more than ſix are examined together at the moderator's tables; which tables ſtand at a diſtance from each other, and are intirely withdrawn from public obſervation. The examination by the other members of the ſenate is ſtill more private, the examiner and the ſtudent always retiring to a place by themſelves.

To all who ſhall attentively inquire into the nature and circumſtances of this celebrated examination, its conſtitution will appear moſt admirable; whether we conſider the inducements it affords to diligence in the examining parties, the guards it oppoſes to partiality, or the means it provides for eliciting the moſt latent merit of the ſtudent. It is moreover conducted with ſingular humanity in every caſe that requires it. Inſomuch, that I believe ſcarcely a ſingle inſtance can be produced of a perſon, who

who failed in obtaining the degree of credit he deſerved, through diffidence of his abilities; while many occur, every year, of thoſe, who having failed in the public diſputations, where effrontery is more ſucceſsful, have afterwards in the ſenate-houſe, by the univerſal ſuffrage, been inveſted with thoſe accumulated honours, which real abilities, united with their moſt amiable attendant, modeſty, ſo juſtly demand.

XVII. XVIII. Theſe propoſitions are tranſcribed from the reſolutions of the ſyndicate, altered only with reſpect to dates. It will be ſufficient to obſerve that, at the time of their publication, they were very generally approved.

Having now exhibited that form of literary diſcipline, which, upon the matureſt reflection, appears moſt practicable in our preſent circumſtances; having alſo endeavoured to eſtabliſh the propriety of each particular meaſure by ſuch arguments, as to my apprehenſion are concluſive, I have only further to add at preſent, that, in compliance with

the deſire of many judicious and reſpectable friends, I intend to offer the preceding propoſitions, in ſeparate graces, to our academical ſenate, upon ſome day near the cloſe of the enſuing October: truſting, that the ſame generoſity and candour, which I have hitherto experienced, in ſuch abundant meaſure, from the numerous patrons of the propoſed inſtitution, will continue to attend my well intentioned efforts to promote the intereſts of virtue, and advance the cauſe of uſeful learning.

July 17, 1774.

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE SENATE
OF
CAMBRIDGE.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXV.

" An engliſh citizen, or, if you will, ſenator, (for this is the ſtation to which our greater citizens do, and our beſt ſhould aſpire) can never acquit himſelf of the duties he owes his country, under this character, but by furniſhing himſelf with all thoſe qualities of the head and heart, which his ſuperior rank and pretenſions demand." Bp. Hurd's Moral and political dialogues, vol. iii. p. 69.

" To think juſtly, to write well, to ſpeak agreeably, are the three great ends of academic inſtruction. The univerſities will excuſe me, if I obſerve, that both are, in one reſpect or other, defective in theſe three capital points of education. While in Cambridge the general application is turned altogether on ſpeculative knowledge, with little regard to polite letters, taſte, or ſtyle: in Oxford, the whole attention is directed towards claſſical correctneſs, without any ſound foundation laid in ſevere reaſoning and philoſophy: in Cambridge and in Oxford, the art of ſpeaking agreeably is ſo far from being taught, that it is hardly talked or thought of. Theſe defects naturally produce dry unaffecting compoſitions in the one; ſuperficial taſte and puerile elegance in the other; ungracious or affected ſpeech in both." Dr. Brown's Eſtimate of the manners and principles of the times, vol. ii. p. 68.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

I AGAIN ſubmit, with all deference and reſpect, the following plan of public examinations to the conſideration of the ſenate of Cambridge; and, at the ſame time, declare my intention of propoſing it to the ſuffrages of that aſſembly, upon ſome day near the cloſe of the enſuing February.

As the propoſitions, which form this plan, will be offered in diſtinct graces, it is to be preſumed, that a difference of opinion, concerning the particular mode of execution, will not obſtruct the eſtabliſhment of thoſe, which comprehend the merits of the main queſtion. If the introduction of public examinations ſhould be eſteemed a neceſſary meaſure, and yet the means now propoſed appear exceptionable, means, better adapted to the circumſtances of the univerſity, may become the ſubject-matter of ſubſequent deliberation. I ſhall only obſerve, that the meaſures here ſubjoined are, in every mate-

rial reſpect, the ſame with thoſe, which were ſuggeſted by the committee, appointed by a grace of the ſenate on the 17th of February, 1774.*

I have alſo re-printed ſuch preliminary "poſtulata," as appear to point out the neceſſity

* The following conſiderations may perhaps appear worthy of ſome attention.

1. The gentlemen who compoſed the above committee, were perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed character and ſtation in the univerſity. They formed a fair and equal repreſentative of the heads of houſes, public tutors, and profeſſors. The whole number conſiſted of twenty-one, of whom ſeventeen have, upon various occaſions, declared themſelves ſtrenuouſly in favour of the propoſed meaſures.

2. The ſcheme of annual examinations, which was the reſult of their labours, received the honourable teſtimony of the chancellor in its favour. And it is well known, that many of our prelates have expreſſed their wiſhes, that it might be carried into effectual execution.

3. It has frequently been intimated, that the public tutors have declared themſelves as diſinclined to adopt the plan of examinations, induced by an apprehenſion, that the education of youth would thereby be transferred to improper perſons. On the contrary, it is a fact, that a very conſiderable majority of the public tutors are known to approve the projected inſtitution.

This objection, which never appeared to me as of any weight, is, however, I truſt, ſufficiently obviated, by the alteration introduced into the fifteenth propoſition.

ceſſity of ſome alteration in our literary courſe.

The mode of tranſacting buſineſs in our legiſlative aſſembly, which, unfortunately, is not of the deliberative kind, each component part being generally underſtood to be poſſeſſed only of a negative voice, too frequently prevents the proper diſcuſſion of many of thoſe important queſtions, which are propoſed to its ſuffrages; and is, moreover, attended with various other inconveniencies.

A grace, for inſtance, is drawn up and offered to the caput; it is judged deficient in point of form, or in ſome other reſpect objectionable; and is conſequently rejected. An event, againſt which there is no ſecurity, as the perſons who compoſe this council, of whom each poſſeſſes a negative, are not eſteemed to be under any obligation to aſſign the particular reaſon of their conduct.

In the period between the paſſing of a grace in the caput, and the time of voting it in the non-regent and the regent houſes, the minuteſt amendment is abſolutely inadmiſſible. Objections are ſtarted in the in-

terval, which, upon a little reflection, might be obviated, or, by a ſlight alteration in ſome uneſſential circumſtances, totally removed; the main queſtion is, however, loſt, for want of ſuch amendment; and cuſtom hath decreed, that it cannot again be offered in that term.

After infinite labour, the various objections are collected, obviated, or proper amendments inſerted in the grace. New objections are, however, ſtarted on the day of trial, and the queſtion is again rejected. After a certain number of ſuch rejections, the friends of the meaſure, thus diſcouraged by repeated failures, no longer exert themſelves with vigour in its ſupport.

How far theſe obſtructions have operated in the preſent inſtance, the hiſtory of the whole procedure may one day evince.

The preceding obſervations evidence the propriety of ſubmitting every queſtion of importance to public diſcuſſion before the time of its propoſal to the ſenate.

I am alſo ſatisfied, that every fair opponent ought to eſteem it a point of honour, to offer his objections in ſuch a manner, as

to

to afford an opportunity of reply. Be this as it may, I judge it moſt agreeable to order, as well as moſt reſpectful, to give this previous intimation of my deſign; and with the utmoſt ſincerity of purpoſe, I now declare my willingneſs to adopt ſuch alterations in the form, or ſubject-matter, of every propoſition, as, upon inquiry or ſuggeſtion, I ſhall diſcover to be agreeable to the general voice.

I have reaſon to believe, that a reſpectable majority of the reſident members of the univerſity are favourably inclined to the eſtabliſhment of public examinations; and that this is more particularly the caſe, with reſpect to the gentlemen who compoſe the regent houſe; upon whoſe abilities, integrity, and ſpirit, the execution of the plan muſt in principal meaſure depend.

I have the pleaſure to reflect, that, throughout the whole courſe of my attempt to introduce the inſtitution in queſtion, I have made a fair and open appeal to the informed underſtandings of my readers. In every material inſtance, I have given my name to the public, as eſteeming myſelf reſponſible for the

the truth of thoſe facts, upon which I have reſted the propriety of the propoſed meaſures. I have, therefore, a right to inſiſt, that thoſe gentlemen, who maintain, that the introduction of annual examinations is "unneceſſary, inexpedient, impracticable, or likely to be attended with ruinous conſequences," be equally explicit; that they ſtate their opinions with preciſion, and ſupport them by argument; that, as the contended neceſſity for the introduction of ſome improvement into our courſe has been founded upon alledged imperfections in our diſcipline, they, in their vindication of our preſent forms, eſpecially attend to the eſſentials of the charge; that they be equally circumſtantial in their repreſentations, and authenticate their aſſertions in the ſame manner. I may venture, without preſumption, to aſſure them, that they will find in me an adverſary, who will conſider their poſitions with candour, and treat their perſons with reſpect.

PRELIMINARY POSTULATA.

I. That the higher orders of our youth, conſiſting of ſtudents, many of whom may be hereafter called to bear the moſt important offices in the ſtate, do not appear to be ſufficiently guarded, at preſent, againſt the numerous temptations, to which perſons of fortune are peculiarly expoſed; and alſo are deſtitute of thoſe incentives to literary application, which, in the caſe of ſtudents of inferior rank, have hitherto been attended with many beneficial effects.*

II. That the application of the penſioners and ſizars to the ſtudy of the mathematics and natural philoſophy, (eminence in which is now underſtood to conſtitute the faireſt, if not the ſole, claim to honorary diſtinctions, at the time of admiſſion to the bachelor's degree,) is uſually deferred to the laſt year of

* Noblemen, and many other perſons under that deſcription in the univerſity, are entitled to the degree of maſter of arts at two years ſtanding. No examination whatever, whether philoſophical or claſſical, is required as a preliminary ſtep to this degree.

of reſidence; and that the two firſt are generally abandoned to idleneſs and diſſipation.

III. That it appears reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the expenſes of all orders of youth in this place would be diminiſhed, and the probability of eſcaping the dangers, to which they are at preſent expoſed, be increaſed, by the diffuſion of ſuch a ſpirit of emulation, as would effect a ſteady and uniform application to thoſe ſtudies, which the wiſdom of the univerſity, acting in concurrence with the domeſtic diſcipline of each ſociety, ſhould approve.

IV. That if, in particular, the attention of the noblemen and fellow-commoners were thus invited to a courſe of ſtudy, adapted to their rank and expectations, it is highly probable, that the number of admiſſions in thoſe orders would be more increaſed, in conſequence of the opportunities of improvement, reſulting from ſuch a regulation, than diminiſhed by the apprehenſions of the rigour of our diſcipline.*

V. That

* The ſubjoined plan, though in various reſpects unavoidably defective, may however ſerve as a permanent

V. That the diſſipation, which generally prevails among the higher orders of our youth, who are liberally provided with the means of indulging themſelves in every improper gratification, at the ſame time that they are recalled from the purſuit of them by no incitement of emulation, nor ſcarcely by any other leſs generous method of reſtraint, muſt exert a baneful influence upon the manners of thoſe ſtudents, whoſe future fortunes depend upon their own induſtrious application.

VI. That the propoſal of honorary diſtinctions, as incitements to the ſtudy of claſſical learning, during the firſt years of reſidence, if adopted alſo in the caſe of the penſioners and ſizars, would be attended with a beneficial influence upon every inferior ſeminary in the kingdom: at the ſame time that an early

nent baſis for future improvements. Its proper end and aim is to ſecure the attention of young men of all ranks and orders to the lectures of their tutors, by the inſtitution of public examinations, accommodated to thoſe lectures, and, therefore, open to the admiſſion of ſuch alterations, with reſpect to their ſubject matter, as expedience may hereafter dictate.

early experiment of the abilities and literary accompliſhments of youth, would probably induce many, who are poſſeſſed of leſs confirmed habits of attention, ſeaſonably to withdraw themſelves from a place, where they, at preſent, expend the means of their future ſubſiſtence, without the remoteſt probability of improvement.

If the preceding poſtulata appear to be founded in reaſon and truth, it is preſumed, that an happy concurrence of ſentiment may be expected in favour of an inſtitution, projected for the purpoſe of guarding the virtue, and enſuring the literary improvement, of thoſe illuſtrious and ingenuous youth, who are intruſted to our care, and with whoſe ſucceſs, in future life, our own eſtimation with the public muſt, conſequently, always bear an intimate connection.

A copy of the PROPOSITIONS, which will be ſubmitted, in regular ſucceſſion, to the ſuffrages of the ſenate, in the enſuing February.

I. A public examination of ſuch noblemen and fellow-commoners, as have been admitted

admitted ſince the friday, next after the commencement 1775, or ſhall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1776, ſhall be held in the ſenate-houſe, at ſome time in the year 1777, hereafter to be appointed.

" Placeat vobis ut ordinatio modo lecta, veſtrâ auctoritate rata, vim ſtatuti obtineat, et in libris procancellarii et procuratorum infra quindecim dies inſcribatur.*

II. A public examination of ſuch penſioners and ſizars, as have been admitted ſince the friday, next after the commencement 1775, or ſhall be admitted before or upon the friday, next after the commencement 1776, ſhall be held in the ſenate-houſe, at ſome time in the year 1777, hereafter to be appointed; ſaving to King's college its uſual privileges.

III. The examinations, propoſed in the two foregoing regulations, ſhall be united, ſo as to conſtitute one examination of all the ſtudents,

* Each of the propoſitions that follow, at the time of its preſentment to the ſenate, will be exhibited written on a ſeparate paper, with the ſame latin formulary ſubjoined.

ſtudents, admitted within the periods therein ſpecified.

IV. The examination, propoſed in the preceding ordinance, ſhall be held upon the third monday, tueſday, and wedneſday, in November 1777, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tueſday.

V. Each perſon, attending the examination in 1777, ſhall be examined in the latin and greek claſſics, and in the elements of geometry, and algebra.

VI. At the cloſe of the examination in 1777, the examiners hereafter to be appointed (or the majority of them) ſhall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the perſons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the beſt ſcholars, not diſtinguiſhing more than a third part, and placing the perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed according to their reſpective order of merit; copies alſo of ſuch declaration ſhall be ſent to each college.

VII. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted within the period ſpecified in the firſt ordinance, ſhall be ſubjected to one

one other public examination in the ſenate-houſe, at ſome time in the year 1778, hereafter to be appointed.

VIII. The ſecond examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, admitted as ſpecified in the firſt ordinance, ſhall be held upon the fourth monday, tueſday, and wedneſday in November 1778, from nine to twelve in the mornings, and from two to five in the afternoons of the monday and tueſday.

IX. Each nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as ſpecified in the firſt ordinance, ſhall, at his ſecond examination in 1778, be examined in Locke's Eſſay on the human underſtanding; natural philoſophy; and modern hiſtory.

X. At the cloſe of the ſecond examination of the noblemen and fellow-commoners, admitted as before ſpecified, the three examiners hereafter to be appointed, or the majority of them, ſhall declare, in a writing to be delivered to the vice-chancellor, which of the perſons, then examined, appear upon the whole to be the beſt ſcholars, not diſtinguiſhing more than a third part, and

placing the perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed according to their reſpective order of merit: ſuch declaration ſhall be publiſhed by the vice-chancellor to the ſenate at the next following congregation, and copies thereof tranſmitted by him to the chancellor of the univerſity, and ſent to each college.

XI. Perſons changing their order to become fellow-commoners ſhall, in the examinations, be claſſed with ſuch, as are of the ſame ſtanding with themſelves by admiſſion.

XII. Any nobleman and fellow-commoner, admitted as before ſpecified, and having been reſident, who ſhall abſent himſelf from either of the preceding examinations, without ſufficient reaſon, ſhall be publicly admoniſhed, or ſubjected to ſuch other academical cenſure, ſhort of ruſtication, as the vice-chancellor and the two proctors, or the vice-chancellor with one proctor, ſhall think the caſe deſerves. A reaſon, certified to the vice-chancellor by the maſter or locum-tenens of his college, and approved by the major part of the vice-chancellor and heads then reſident, ſhall be deemed

deemed ſufficient to excuſe any perſon's abſence from a whole examination. And a reaſon, approved by the major part of the examiners, hereafter to be appointed, ſhall be deemed ſufficient to excuſe any perſon's abſence from any part of an examination.

XIII. The ſanction, provided for the purpoſe of ſecuring the attendance of noblemen and fellow-commoners, and the relief admitted under it, ſhall be extended to the caſe of penſioners and ſizars, admitted as above, who ſhall abſent themſelves from the examinations in the year 1777.

XIV. In all future years after 1777, there ſhall be a public examination of ſuch noblemen, fellow-commoners, penſioners, and ſizars, as ſhall then be of equal ſtanding with thoſe intended to be examined in 1777, and the ſubjects and time ſhall be the ſame with thoſe directed for 1777. There ſhall alſo be in every year, ſubſequent to the year 1778, a public examination of ſuch noblemen and fellow-commoners as ſhall then be of equal ſtanding with thoſe intended to be examined in 1778, and the ſubjects and time ſhall be the ſame with thoſe directed

for 1778. And in both the above examinations, the examiners hereafter to be appointed, ſhall make the ſame honorary diſtinctions as in the years 1777, and 1778, and attendance ſhall be ſecured by the ſame ſanctions.

XV. Seven examiners, members of the ſenate, ſhall be annually appointed from the ſeveral colleges, in the order of the cycle of opponents in divinity: except only that Trinity-hall ſhall add an examiner every fifth year; and that theſe examiners ſhall either be the public tutors of each college, or appointed by them, in conjunction with the maſter. No appointment ſhall be valid, except the maſter, and one tutor, at leaſt, concur in the nomination.

XVI. Where three colleges are laid together to provide one examiner, they ſhall have the appointment according to ſeniority of foundation. And the examiners, appointed according to this and the preceding ordinance, ſhall be preſented to the vice-chancellor, on or before the eleventh of June every year.

XVII. At the firſt examination in November

ber 1777, all the examiners ſhall examine ſuch ſtudents as ſhall then attend. At the examinations in November 1778, the three ſenior of the examiners ſhall examine the noblemen and fellow-commoners of the ſenior year; the other four or five, the ſtudents of the junior year, and ſo always.

XVIII. Beſides the appointed examiners, every member of the ſenate ſhall be at liberty to examine.

XIX. Each of the examiners ſhall receive a gratuity of ten guineas, to be paid out of the univerſity cheſt. Every nobleman and fellow-commoner, who ſhall be admitted after the date of this grace, ſhall pay, at his admiſſion, two guineas, and every penſioner half a guinea, towards replacing in the cheſt ſuch ſums as ſhall be thence ſo iſſued. And all perſons already admitted, and ſubjected to the above-mentioned examinations, ſhall be charged with the ſame payments at the cloſe of the preſent quarter.

XX. The monies charged at the admiſſions of noblemen, fellow-commoners, and penſioners, ſhall be accounted for to the vice-chancellor, on the ſaturdays next before the days of examination, by their re-

ſpective tutors, who ſhall, at the ſame time, deliver liſts of ſuch of their pupils, as are to be examined, with the dates of their admiſſions.

N. B. The fourth, fifth, and ſixth propoſitions are purpoſely ſo worded, as to ſuit with the firſt ordinance, in caſe the ſecond and third ſhould be rejected.

Cambridge, Dec. 20, 1775.

SELECT CASES OF THE DISORDER COMMONLY TERMED THE PARALYSIS OF THE LOWER EXTREMITIES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A CASE OF CATALEPSY.

FIRST PUBLISHED MDCCLXXXII.

NOW RE-PRINTED
FROM THE SECOND EDITION,
MDCCLXXXIII.

TO PERCIVALL POTT, ESQ. F.R.S.
SENIOR SURGEON OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.

SIR,

AT an early period of my medical ſtudies, you pointed out the path to ſubſtantial ſcience; and your ſubſequent inſtructions gratified that deſire of knowledge, which your exhortations had excited: favours enhanced by the manner of conferring them. Permit me to teſtify my ſenſe of obligation, by inſcribing the following pages to your reſpected name. I remain

your obedient and
obliged ſervant,

JOHN JEBB.

Sept. 7, 1782.

SELECT CASES, &c.

MR. POTT, in his tracts upon the paralyſis of the lower extremities, having deſcribed the ſymptoms of that diſorder, together with the appearances upon diſſection, with his uſual perſpicuity and preciſion; having alſo recommended a mode of treatment, of which experience hath very fully demonſtrated the ſucceſs; it may perhaps appear an act of unjuſtifiable preſumption to ſolicit the further attention of the public to a ſubject, commented upon by his maſterly pen, and, therefore, it may be urged, already exhauſted.

Every perſon, who, with a proper degree of attention, peruſes the publications of that able writer, muſt obſerve, that the doctrines advanced in his treatiſes upon the injuries of the head, the hydrocele, and ruptures, although they are laid down with a degree of clearneſs and accuracy, of which we have but few examples, receive conſiderable light from the caſes he has ſubjoined. In the medical

medical art, general propoſitions are rendered more intelligible by a repreſentation of the particular inſtances from which they were deduced. The doctrines advanced are impreſſed more forcibly on the underſtanding, while the circumſtances of the caſe not unfrequently ſuggeſt reflections, that gratify the activity of our minds, and enable us to form deductions for ourſelves.

It has frequently occurred to me, that much light and information might be derived to ſtudents in medicine, were the phyſicians of our hoſpitals more generally to imitate the manner purſued in the infirmary of Edinburgh. Were they to point out to their pupils ſuch particular caſes, as ſeemed moſt likely to afford opportunities of improvement: were they to encourage them to meet and to report the reſult of their inquiries into the ſymptoms of the diſorder, the effect of the medicines, and the progreſs of the complaint to its fatal termination, or its cure: were they, laſtly, from the various accounts of the ſtudents, and their own obſervations, to draw up regular and well-digeſted hiſtories of ſuch caſes, as might appear

pear moſt deſerving of attention, and inſert them, properly authenticated, in the books of the hoſpital, ſuch hiſtories and details would be attended with public as well as private advantage; they would be analogous to the reports and year-books of our lawyers; to the recorded obſervations of the appearances in the heavens; and might be reſorted to as authorities, and as evidences of nature's powers, and of nature's laws.

Inſtances frequently occur in hoſpitals, where, without offence and without difficulty, inquiries might be made into the original cauſes and ſeat of the diſorder, by an examination of the appearances in the body after death. This is at preſent ſometimes permitted, under proper reſtrictions; but the mode of conducting ſuch inquiry admits of conſiderable improvement: the inveſtigation ſhould be more minute, and inſtituted under the immediate inſpection of the attendant phyſician, aſſiſted by a perſon accuſtomed to morbid diſſections, and a proficient in the anatomical art. The appearances, ſubmitted to the view of all the ſtudents, and accurately reported, ſhould be properly authenticated,

thenticated, and inſerted in the oppoſite page to the hiſtory of the ſymptoms and the mode of treatment: a form of procedure, which would conduce more, than poſſibly may occur upon the firſt reflection, to the eſtabliſhment of the art of medicine upon a ſolid, becauſe truly philoſophical, foundation. *

The caſes now offered to the public, are not propoſed, in any reſpect, as models of the plan I would recommend; they are tranſcribed from note-books, wherein the ſymptoms and appearances were ſet down without any further view than my own private

* I would add, that if an accurate regiſter were kept of ſome of the capital operations, ſuch as lithotomy, the application of the trephine, the operations for the bubonocele, the cataract, &c. many ſubſtantial advantages would be derived to the medical and chirurgical art. The frequency of theſe operations in hoſpitals, the maſterly manner in which they are generally performed, and the detail of well-authenticated circumſtances which might, with ſo much facility, be included in the report, would enable us to form a nearer approximation to certainty, with reſpect to the comparative merit of different operations, and the general reſult of the diſorder, than could poſſibly be expected from the obſervations of unconnected individuals, however great their abilities, however extenſive their practice.

vate reflection and improvement. Neither have I the presumption to imagine, that it is in my power to suggest any new ideas upon the present subject. However, as the cases subjoined were taken with fidelity and care, as some of them were under the immediate management of Mr. Pott, when he composed his treatises, the relation of them may possibly tend to confirm his theory, and explain the reasons of his practice.

In conformity to the principles upon which the inimitable nosology of Dr. Cullen is founded, I will, in the history of these cases, confine myself solely to evident symptoms, and the patient's narrative; being fully satisfied, that to describe disorders according to the forms in which they really evidence themselves to the senses, with a careful attention to the patient's feelings, is the most likely method of acquiring both a knowledge of their causes and of their cure.

CASE I.

T. C. aged thirty-two, originally of an healthy constitution, was admitted a patient in St. Bartholomew's hospital in November

1777.

1777. He ſometimes complained of a pain, but generally of a numbneſs, at the margin of the thorax, under the cartilages of the ninth and tenth ribs of the left-ſide, with a cough, ſpitting, and ſhortened reſpiration, when he lay on that ſide; the ſpinal proceſs of the ſeventh or eighth dorſal vertebra was conſiderably protuberant; his belly was prominent and flaccid, with a numbneſs extending itſelf over the whole abdomen, and great debility of the muſculi obliqui and tranſverſales, whenever he voluntarily attempted to contract them; a ſenſation of chillneſs prevailed in his knees, with a want of feeling in the fore part of his legs, and an inability of drawing them up in bed.

To theſe ſymptoms were added twitchings in the flexors of his legs, and numbneſs of the feet, a jarring ſenſation in the tendo Achillis of one foot, and tranſient pains in both, which, with the chillneſs, proceeded, as he conceived, and repeatedly declared, not from the protuberant part of the ſpine, but the lumbar vertebra immediately above the os ſacrum.

The quickneſs of the pulſe, the florid appearance

pearance of his countenance, and ſtate of reſpiration, ſtrongly ſuggeſted the idea of hectic fever prevailing in the ſyſtem.

Theſe affections, with a numbneſs of the ſphincter ani, coſtiveneſs, and a want of conſciouſneſs when his fæces were ejected, completed the catalogue of his complaints.

Upon repeated inquiries, he conſtantly declared, that he did not recollect any ſtrain, or other accident, to which he could aſcribe his preſent ſufferings.

It appeared that it was nearly three years ſince his diſorder commenced. His firſt complaint was a rheumatic affection in the ſide, which was cured by gum guaiacum. About this period he imagined he got cold, a pain and foreneſs in the ſmall of his back ſucceeding to that complaint, and a ſenſe of inward weakneſs in his breaſt. Theſe ſymptoms were exaſperated by a cough; numbneſs of the abdomen followed next in order, with a gradual acceſſion of the other ſymptoms, until he was confined to his bed.

Before the application of the cauſtics he made trial of the cold-bath, mercurial frictions, tinctura ſacra, volatile liniment, a

ſtrengthening plaiſter to the loins, and the ſcrew-chair, without any good effect whatever. The cold-bath and ſcrew-chair were evidently hurtful.

The cauſtics being applied, according to Mr. Pott's directions, on each ſide of the protuberance, ſoon produced a ſenſible effect; the twitchings in his thighs and legs were increaſed, and in ſome degree ſenſation and voluntary motion were reſtored in his feet; but the advances to a perfect cure were not very rapid during the firſt ſix months.

He next recovered the power of expelling flatus per anum: during this period the curvature appeared to diminiſh: the numbneſs in his inſteps remained for many months; but, at length, all his complaints wore off, his former ſtate of health returned, and he intirely recovered his former vigour.

CASE II.

R. B. aged twenty-one, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital in June, 1778. A protuberance being obſerved in the ſpine, the cauſtics were applied in the courſe

courſe of the following month. At that time, he lay totally deprived of the uſe of his lower extremities, which were rigid, and almoſt intirely inſenſible, an imperfect feeling remaining only in the plantæ pedum and the knees. Tranſitory twitchings and tremblings prevailed at times, with general rigors, as in the cold fit of an ague; his fæces came away without his knowledge, his urine flowed without his conſent, a violent pain in his bowels preceding its evacuation. He was alſo affected with numbneſs below the navel. He complained at times of a pain in his ſide, with ſpitting, and a conſtant uneaſineſs under the ſternum.

His ſtrength at this time was much waſted, in conſequence of two large ſores on his hips of more than eight inches diameter, accompanied with exfoliations of the great trochanters. A ſymptom ſomewhat ſingular was obſerved in his caſe. For about a month before the date of his admiſſion, he was affected with a convulſive motion in the ſecond finger of one of his hands.

From his account of the origin and progreſs of the diſorder, I collected as follows:

About two years before his admiſſion into the hoſpital, he fell from a hay-loft; his loins received the force of the fall; he recovered himſelf in a few minutes, and for three months felt no kind of complaint.

At the cloſe of this period he began to be ſenſible of a pain in the eighth or ninth dorſal vertebra, the ſpinal proceſs of which became ſoon after protuberant; the pain was apparently of the rheumatic kind, being worſe when he was warm in bed, and recurring after having catched cold. At this time he alſo found his ability in raiſing heavy bodies diminiſhed, and his powers of motion impeded.

In a year and a half after the accident, his pain increaſing, in conſequence, as he thought, of a cold, he applied to a ſurgeon for advice, who ordered an embrocation for his back. In a few days afterwards he felt a pain deſcending from the protuberant vertebra, in the courſe of the ſpine, and of the iſchiatic and the crural nerves, affecting the thigh, the ham, and the gaſtrocnemii muſcles to his heel. This pain ſoon vaniſhed, and never afterwards returned; the weakneſs

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and the numbneſs rapidly increaſed after this ſenſation, until, in the courſe of four days, he was reduced to the helpleſs ſituation in which I found him.

He continued in this weak ſtate for many months, his pulſe beating generally 140, and, at one time, 180 ſtrokes in a minute. The iſſues evidently produced ſome effect; at times there was a tranſient recurrency of ſenſation in his feet; but nature being exhauſted by the diſcharge from his ulcerated hips, his general health being alſo impaired from inward diſeaſe, he gradually ſunk under his complaint.

I much regretted, that an opportunity was not allowed by his friends of examining into the ſtate of the parts.

CASE III.

R. H. aged nineteen, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital in December, 1777.

At the time of his admiſſion he complained of pain in the muſcles of his thighs, and the fore part of his legs, which ſenſibly grew worſe at night. His knees and ancles

were extremely feeble. He walked with great difficulty and pain, but had never been affected with the uſual ſymptoms of numbneſs or chillneſs in his lower extremities, during any period of his diſorder. He felt a ſoreneſs under the ſhort ribs of both ſides, which was much exaſperated by a troubleſome cough. From the parts thus affected, lancinating pains frequently proceeded down his thighs, which more particularly diſtreſſed him when he lay on his belly: his pulſe was tolerably ſtrong, but very irregular. He was alſo much emaciated: a white and viſcid mucus was frequently expectorated, particularly in a morning; his general debility continually increaſed.

The ſpinal proceſs of the ninth or tenth dorſal vertebra was very protuberant; but he conceived the pain and weakneſs to proceed from a point conſiderably below that protuberance.

Upon my examination into the cauſe and progreſs of his complaints, he informed me that they were the conſequence of a ſtrain received, about a year before his admiſſion, from his foot ſlipping while he was aſcend-

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ing a ladder with a ſack of oats: he felt a ſudden ſhock affect the part which became afterwards protuberant: he perceived no immediate inconvenience, but proceeded in his buſineſs as before.

About two months after the accident, having been expoſed through the whole of an inclement night to the cold, he was taken with a ſhivering, and felt a rheumatic pain ſuddenly ſeize the part firſt affected by the ſhock; a ſecond fit of ſhivering, with pains at the bottom of his belly, took place within ſix weeks after the firſt; the protuberance now became apparent, and gradually increaſed, with debility and the ſymptoms already deſcribed.

Within a month after the application of the cauſtics, he grew evidently better: his pains grew leſs troubleſome, his ſtrength gradually increaſed, until, at the cloſe of about ſeven months, he was diſmiſſed, perfectly free from all complaint.

CASE IV.

R. S. aged ten years. He received a blow on the pit of the ſtomach, about twelve

months before the application of the cauſtics. He fell in conſequence of the ſtroke, but recovered himſelf in a few minutes, and felt no inconvenience for ſome days.

About a week after the accident, he began to be ſenſible of weakneſs in his limbs: at the cloſe of the following fortnight, the ſpinal proceſs of the ſecond dorſal vertebra became a little protuberant; and in three weeks more, his complaints had increaſed with ſo much rapidity, that the uſe of his lower extremities was intirely loſt, and all ſenſation in them totally extinct: they were alſo rigid, the feet being pointed downwards, as if the gaſtrocnemii muſcles were in a ſtate of ſpaſm. He had been under the care of Dr. Pitcairn for above nine months, who attended to his caſe with ſingular humanity; but having preſcribed various medicines and applications, without the wiſhed-for ſucceſs, at length he recommended him to the care of Mr. Pott. When the cauſtics were ordered, the diſeaſe occupied five or ſix of the vertebræ of the back, which was bent into an uniform curve: the patient's chin reſted on his breaſt; and the appear-

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ance was ſo unpromiſing, that Mr. Pott declared, he was induced to make trial of the cauſtics, merely becauſe he would leave nothing undone in a caſe ſo truly deplorable, but that he ſcarcely could expect any advantage from their uſe.

In about a month from the time of application of the cauſtics, he acquired the power of moving the great toe of one of his feet; he was exhorted to attempt the motion of the other, by exerting repeated acts of volition, which in a little time he alſo accompliſhed. I was particularly attentive to the progreſs of the cure for many months. The pointed poſition of his feet long remained. However, without the uſe of any medicine, the power of motion of the ancle-joint was at length regained. The curvature of his back gradually decreaſed; and at the cloſe of about ten months from the time of applying the cauſtics, having recovered the intire uſe and vigour of his limbs, he was diſcharged in perfect health.

CASE V.

J. R. admitted a patient in St. Bartholomew's

lomew's hoſpital, in May, 1779. He informed me, that for four years before this period, his left ſide was hurt, in conſequence of a fall from an horſe: that he was not blooded immediately upon the accident; but feeling a pain there three months afterwards, he then was blooded, and the pain thereby for a time intirely removed.

In about half a year the pain returned. A bliſter was then applied to the affected part. Upon waſhing his feet with cold water, he perceived the pain ſtrike to his loins, in which place he continued conſtantly to feel it to the day of his admiſſion. A weakneſs commenced in his limbs about three years after the date of the accident, for which he took various remedies, without effect: this weakneſs terminated at length in the intire loſs of the uſe of his lower extremities. He went to Bath; and after a ſtay of ſeveral months, returned, without having received any benefit whatever from the waters.

Suſpecting the cauſe of his complaint, from his hiſtory and apparent ſymptoms, I examined the ſpine previouſly to his admiſ-

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ſion, and diſcovered a protuberance of the fourth or fifth dorſal vertebra, which, before that period, had not been noticed, either by himſelf or thoſe who had attended him. He had now been troubled with a cough for many months: his ſtools were involuntary, his bladder was not emptied without great exertions; his legs were frequently drawn upwards with violence, at other times agitated with convulſive tremors; he invariably conceived the cauſe of his diſorder to be ſeated in the loins.

It was ſomewhat ſingular in this man's caſe, that whenever his legs were violently affected with the ſpaſms, he alſo felt an hyſterical ſenſation in his throat, a lump ſeeming to have ariſen there which impeded deglutition.

The cauſtics were immediately applied upon each ſide of the protuberant vertebra. He lay in bed with wonderful patience for eighteen weeks, without perceiving the minuteſt alteration in the ſymptoms of his complaint; Mr. Pott, who paid remarkable attention to his caſe, repeatedly encouraging him to perſevere. At length, upon one

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of my viſits to him, he informed me, with ſtrong expreſſions of joy, that on that day, for the firſt time, he found himſelf able to move one of his toes. This unexpected alteration in his ſymptoms was followed by others equally pleaſing, until, in the courſe of about eight months, he intirely recovered; the difficulty of expelling his urine was the laſt ſymptom that diſappeared.

CASE VI.

M. B. a woman, aged forty-ſeven, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, in February, 1779.

She related, that her complaints originated from a ſtrain, received in conſequence of an extraordinary exertion of ſtrength, about four months before the date of her admiſſion. A violent flooding was the immediate effect. To this ſucceeded a loſs of the uſe of the lower extremities, and a protuberance in the ſpine. She laboured alſo under diſorders of the ſtomach and bowels, apparently independent of that, which had produced the curvature, and paralytic affections. For this reaſon, as well as from ſome doubts I entertained

tertained, reſpecting the aſſigned date of the derangement in her ſpine, I have omitted the further mention of particular ſymptoms. I have ſelected the caſe, however, as deſerving of attention, on account of ſome ſingularities in the appearances after death.

The cauſtics were applied, but produced no alteration in her ſymptoms. She gradually ſunk under her complicated complaints.

Upon opening the abdomen, we diſcovered many conglobate glands, in the vicinity of the pancreas conſiderably enlarged, and of a ſimilar conſiſtency to what is obſerved in ſcrofulous ſubjects. Scrofulous tubercles were apparent alſo on the ſurface of the liver, to which viſcus there was a very large ſcirrhous appendage, that deſcended as low as the criſta of the os iliûm.

Upon inſpection of the ſpine, we diſcovered that a griſtly ſubſtance of the ſize and ſhape of a turkey's egg, and of ſuperior firmneſs to moſt ſcirrhi, formed the protuberance obſerved before death. It occupied the places of the ſpinal, articular, and tranſverſe proceſſes of three vertebræ of the back,

back, which proceſſes, from ſome remains in a corroded ſtate, appeared to have been gradually deſtroyed by the enlargement of the ſcirrhus: the ſpongy bodies of theſe vertebræ alone eſcaped. This ſcirrhous maſs lay in contact with the ſpinal marrow. The capitula of two or three of the ribs on each ſide were alſo much corroded. In ſuch circumſtances, it will not appear ſurpriſing that the cauſtics ſhould have failed in producing their cuſtomary effects.*

CASE VII.

J. D. was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital in February 1779.

He appeared to ſuffer much from a ſcalding of his water, which inceſſantly dribbled from him. He complained alſo of great languor and debility, particularly in his knees and back, and numbneſs in his feet; a white mucous ſediment appeared in his urine:

* I beg leave to refer my readers, on this occaſion, to a very inſtructive caſe, (in which the paralytic ſymptoms evidently aroſe from a ſubſtance of ſofter contexture, preſſing upon the ſpinal marrow,) inſerted in the third volume of "Medical obſervations and inquiries," p. 160, &c.

urine: an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, with frequent teneſmus, ſhortneſs of breath, a cough, loſs of appetite, and want of reſt, accompanied theſe complaints.

He related, that his diſorder originated from a ſtrain which he received from carrying an heavy load, about ſeven years before the time of his application for relief. Upon examination of the ſpine, one of the lumbar vertebræ appeared conſiderably protuberant: upon further inquiry, two fiſtulous orifices were diſcovered; one in the thigh, the other in the groin of the oppoſite ſide, from which pus was almoſt conſtantly diſcharged. From the depth and direction of theſe fiſtulæ, and the patient's hiſtory of his diſorder, no doubt was entertained of the ſource of this diſcharge being ſeated in the loins.

The cauſtics were applied, but he died in a few days, perfectly exhauſted, before any advantage could poſſibly have been derived from their uſe.

An opportunity was not indulged of inſpecting the parts.

From reflecting upon this caſe, and ſome others I have met with of a ſimilar nature, I have

I have been led to conclude, that, in thoſe inſtances of the diſtempered ſpine, where a protuberance, evidencing a mechanical derangement of the parts, is connected with the paralyſis of the lower extremities, the purulent matter, generated while the caries is advancing, is prevented from eſcaping downwards by the thick ligamentous ſubſtance that covers the corpora vertebrarum; and that this fluid, thus detained, aſſiſts in the further corroſion of thoſe parts. Hence the ſubſequent inflection of the ſpine, and the protuberance accounted for in ſo ſatisfactory a manner by Mr. Pott. In other caſes it may be ſuppoſed, that the matter, formed by ulceration, either originates on the outſide of the ligamentous covering of the ſpine, or elſe burſts from its confinement within that aponeurotic expanſion, and making its way in the courſe of the pſoæ muſcles, produces that peculiar form of the diſorder, to which the name of lumbar abſceſs is aſſigned.

Upon mentioning this idea, about two years ago, to a ſurgeon of eminence in this town, he ſhewed me the vertebræ of a perſon

ſon who had been cured of a lumbar abſceſs, and afterwards died of a different complaint. Two or three of the anterior proceſſes of the lumbar vertebræ had evidently been carious; but an anchyloſis had taken place, laminæ of the oſſific matter uniting the vertebræ, and conſolidating them into an inflexible maſs.*

With reſpect to the treatment of lumbar abſceſſes, it may perhaps be impoſſible to point out any mode of treatment whatever which ſhall prove ſucceſsful. It may not, however, be improper to obſerve, that if the abſceſs be opened with a knife, the quantity of ſurface expoſed to the air induces that degree of hectic fever, under which the patient generally ſinks; nature, according to the juſt conception of Mr. Hunter,

* Mr. Sheldon, ſurgeon, deſervedly celebrated for his anatomical abilities, favoured me with the ſight of the vertebræ of a man, who had laboured under two lumbar abſceſſes at the ſame time. The bodies of the third and fourth vertebræ of the loins, the ſpinal proceſſes of which had been very protuberant in the living ſubject, were nearly deſtroyed by ulceration, and the nerves, iſſuing through the foramina of the ſpine, in part obliterated by the ravages of the diſeaſe.

Hunter, being exhauſted by her exertions in attempting a cure of what it tranſcends her power to effect.

In ſuch circumſtances, would it not be reaſonable to open an outlet for the collected fluid, as ſoon as the fluctuating tumor in the groin, and other ſymptoms, ſhall aſcertain the nature of the complaint, by means of a cauſtic applied to the moſt depending part; and, at the ſame time, to form large iſſues on each ſide of the ſpinal proceſſes of the firſt or ſecond vertebra of the loins? Thus might the matter already collected be gradually evacuated, without hazard of the miſchief generally attendant upon the expoſure of a large internal ſurface to the free admiſſion of the air, and, at the ſame time, the cure of the injured vertebræ be promoted by the eſtabliſhment of a new irritation, or drain, in the vicinity of the original diſeaſe.

I am inclined to believe, that many caſes occur not unlike to what I have juſt deſcribed, and others of a nature apparently diſſimilar, in which the timely application of the cauſtics would prevent the melancholy train of evils, attributed frequently, in the

the firſt ſtage, to other cauſes, but, in fact, derived from a diſtempered ſpine. A careful attention to ſymptoms and diſſections may perhaps hereafter afford us the means of detecting the latent miſchief in its firſt acceſs, and thus enable us to preſcribe a rational and effectual mode of cure.

CASE VIII.

T. R. was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital in October, 1778.

He complained of a weakneſs in his lower extremities, for which, during a courſe of ten weeks, a great variety of nervous medicines was preſcribed, without effect. No derangement during this period was ſuſpected in his ſpine.

The diſorder now rapidly advancing, his caſe was more accurately inquired into; a conſiderable degree of protuberance was diſcovered in three of the dorſal vertebræ, and the cauſtics were applied. At this time, the uſe of the lower extremities was intirely loſt; the diſorder had proceeded to its final ſtage. He died within three weeks after the nature of his diſorder was aſcertained, and before it

was poſſible for the cauſtics to have produced any ſenſible effect.

In his narrative he declared, that he did not recollect any ſtrain, or probable cauſe of his diſorder. The firſt ſymptom was a numbneſs, which ſuddenly ſeized his left inſtep, affecting him with the ſenſation of an heavy body ſtriking that part: a weakneſs followed in both his knees; a rigidity of the lower extremities enſued, with a total inſenſibility of thoſe parts. He complained alſo of a ſharp pain in the right ſide of the thorax, proceeding from the affected vertebra. He never loſt the power of excreting his urine or his ſtools.

The following account of the appearances after death is drawn up, partly from my own papers, partly from the papers of a gentleman of great medical abilities, who attended the diſſection.*

The body being placed with the face downwards, a rectangular portion of the ſpine, containing ſix or ſeven vertebræ, with the three that were protuberant in the middle, were

* Dr. Beerenbrock.

were removed by the ſaw. Immediately under them was lodged about half a pint of fœtid diſcoloured fluid, contained in a pouch, and in contact with the bodies of the vertebræ, which was prevented from entering into the cavity of the thorax by the aponeurotic expanſion covering the ſpine. The bodies of two of the vertebræ were ſeparated from the other proceſſes of thoſe vertebræ, and, together with the intervening cartilages, were almoſt intirely diſſolved into a liquid cretaceous ſubſtance. The vertebræ immediately contiguous had received but little injury, although their bodies were expoſed to the fluid contained in the pouch: the aponeurotic expanſion confining the fluid was much thickened; its colour almoſt black.

The medulla ſpinalis appeared perfectly ſound. The dura mater, where it lay expoſed to the matter, was alſo black, but not eroded, except that a ſmall aperture, as if made with a lancet, was diſcerned on one ſide, through which it was ſuppoſed the fluid of the abſceſs had penetrated, ſo as to preſs upon the ſpinal marrow itſelf. A por-

tion of two or three of the dorſal nerves on one ſide, in the place where they iſſue between the vertebræ, was totally deſtroyed. The capitula of the correſponding ribs were alſo expoſed and conſiderably eroded.

CASE IX.

In the beginning of the year 1779, I attended a boy about ſeven years of age, who laboured under the ſymptoms of obſtruction in the meſenteric glands. His belly was prominent and hard, his ſtools were ſlimy, and he was much reduced in conſequence of an hectic fever, attended with cough, loſs of appetite, and reſtleſſneſs. His manner of walking was aukward and irregular; and he frequently complained of a pain in the thigh of the right ſide, and a violent itching in the groin.

Upon ſurveying the ſpine, I obſerved that ſpecies of inflexion to which noſologiſts give the name of ſcolioſis; and upon a ſecond examination, ſome weeks afterwards, a ſlight degree of protuberance of the tenth or eleventh dorſal vertebra began to diſcloſe itſelf.

I had

I had tried ſome of the ordinary remedies preſcribed in ſcrofulous caſes, before the protuberance was diſcerned, without much ſucceſs. Upon the diſcovery of this appearance, I earneſtly recommended the uſe of the cauſtics, according to Mr. Pott's directions, but my remonſtrances were in vain. At the end of eighteen months, I ſaw this child bent almoſt double, the uſe of the lower extremities utterly loſt, and with all the ſymptoms of approaching diſſolution, which took place in the courſe of a few days.

I am much inclined to believe that this child might have been ſaved by an application of the cauſtics, immediately upon the diſcovery of the protuberance in the ſpine.

Since the time of my attendance upon the preceding caſe, I have very frequently ſeen children, nearly of the ſame age, labouring under ſimilar complaints, which I have reaſon to preſume were derived from the ſame ſource. In ſome the lumbar vertebræ were evidently protuberant; in others, a ſmall degree of protuberance might be obſerved in the lower vertebræ of the back, attended

with pain upon the ſlighteſt touch. In all theſe caſes, there was a conſiderable prominency of the belly, and other ſigns of obſtruction in the glandular ſyſtem. Is it not, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that one of the conglobate glands, of which many are found in the vicinity of the lumbar vertebræ, may frequently be the original ſeat of the diſeaſe, and that from thence the ulceration is extended to the vertebræ themſelves?

In other caſes, there is ground for ſuſpicion, that the bodies of the vertebræ, or the intervertebral ſubſtance, are primarily affected, the ſame ſcrofulous diſpoſition inducing this diſtemper, which is known ſo frequently to affect the acetabulum of the thigh, the joints of the elbow, and the knee, with the correſponding ligaments; diſorders, to which the name of white ſwelling is commonly aſſigned.

When this diſorder affects the eyes, or ſuch of the conglobate glands as evidence themſelves to the touch, the nature of the complaint is quickly perceived, and iſſues are ordered with ſingular advantage. With equal propriety

propriety, ſurely, may ſimilar drains be recommended in the neighbourhood of the diſeaſed parts, when the joints are affected, whether they be the joints of the extremities, or the articulations of the ſpine.

The paralyſis of the lower extremities, with a debility in the functions of the bladder and the rectum, which take place when the ſpine is the ſeat of ſcrofula, are the mere effects of the diſorder, occupying the vicinity of large portions of that ſubſtance, which is the proper ſeat of ſenſibility and voluntary power; and, therefore, ought by no means to enter into the definition of the diſeaſe. Not only an erroneous deſcription of a diſorder, but even the aſſigning of an improper name to a complaint, as Mr. Pott has repeatedly obſerved, leads to an improper treatment of that diſorder; and thus the art of medicine often perpetuates the evils, which it is its object to remove. In conſequence of ſuch miſconception, I have frequently ſeen the whole claſs of nervous medicines employed, and the Bath waters preſcribed, to relieve the paralyſis of the lower extremities; when, after the cauſe of the diſorder

diſorder was detected, it was obvious that they muſt neceſſarily have aggravated the diſeaſe: and I am very much inclined to believe that many other diſorders, reputed nervous, are the effects of complaints merely local, and are frequently derived from ſome affections of the viſcera of the abdomen, for which medicines of a very different operation ſhould be preſcribed.

CASE X.

In the courſe of the laſt year, I was deſired to viſit a perſon who laboured under an obſtinate coſtiveneſs, and a complaint in his bladder. Upon my arrival at his houſe, I found that he had had no evacuation by ſtool for the laſt fortnight, and that for ſix months paſt, his urine, which abounded with a yellow ſediment of a purulent appearance, came involuntarily from him, and without his perception. He complained much of ſpaſms, and of pains affecting his calves, his ancles, the ſoles and the great toes of his feet, which were very excruciating when he ſat up in bed. He felt the operation of medicines in the upper part of his

his bowels: in the lower, numbneſs prevailed. It was with difficulty that he retained either food or medicine on his ſtomach; his pulſe was languid, and his whole appearance evidenced him to be on the verge of diſſolution, which in a few days afterwards took place.

Upon inquiry into his hiſtory and preceding ſymptoms, he informed me, that fourteen years ago he had received a bruiſe from being preſſed between two carriages, which had cauſed a vomiting of blood. That for three or four years paſt, he had felt painful ſenſations in his loins, from which period he dated the commencement of the diſorder in his bladder.

On account of the pains in his feet, his complaints were treated as proceeding from rheumatiſm or the gout, and Bath waters were preſcribed, but no advantage was derived from their uſe.

About a month before I ſaw him, a ſlight degree of fullneſs was obſerved in the region of the os ſacrum; but it was never ſuſpected, that the original cauſe of his diſorder was ſeated in that part.

Under

Under a full perſuaſion, that ſome concealed miſchief in the neighbourhood of the os ſacrum was the ſource of his complaints, after having procured an evacuation by the help of caſtor oil, I directed cauſtics to be applied to the protuberant part; but he died before any ſeparation of the ſloughs had taken place.

Upon examination of the body after death, the colon, from its commencement to the beginning of the rectum, appeared conſiderably enlarged, and much diſtended with fæces; the bladder alſo was greatly enlarged, its muſcular coat præternaturally thickened, and its inner ſurface faſciculated; but no ulcer, eroſion, or any other injury whatever was diſcerned.

Upon examination of the os ſacrum, an uncommom derangement preſented itſelf to the ſight, exhibiting the immediate ſource of the patient's complicated complaints; the poſterior ſurface of that bone was ſeparated intirely by caries from the anterior: the diſtemper had alſo penetrated deep in its ſubſtance, having nearly obliterated thoſe proceſſes of the ſpinal marrow, which form the

the iſchiatic nerve, and greatly injured the ſpinal marrow itſelf.

Upon an accurate ſurvey, every other part of the ſpine, and all the viſcera, both of the thorax and abdomen, appeared perfectly ſound.

Although it was the main object and deſign of this publication, to illuſtrate and confirm, as far as my feeble powers would admit, the doctrine of that able practitioner, who has deſerved ſo much of his country and mankind; yet, in the ſelection of the preceding caſes, and the enumeration of the ſymptoms, attendant upon the various ſtages of this calamitous diſorder, it was alſo my deſign to afford materials, for an early inveſtigation of the frequently concealed ſource of complaints, differenced from each other in their outward form; in origin ſubſtantially the ſame. I have a ſimilar end in view in the remaining pages of this tract, in which I ſhall, with fidelity, report ſuch other particulars, as ſeem worthy of attention, ſelected from a great variety of caſes, which fell within my immediate obſerva-

tion;

tion; the narrative firſt in order forming the only exception to this rule.

The hiſtory, of which the following is an abſtract, was communicated to me with ſuch circumſtances of credibility, as would not permit me to doubt of the accuracy of the report.

CASE XI.

A boy, about twelve years of age, received a blow from a ſtone, which ſtruck his loins. In the evening of the ſame day he was ſeized with a ſhivering, which laſted about five minutes; a fever ſucceeded, which ran high during the night, but abated towards the morning. At the ſame period of time, a contraction of his legs took place, attended with great debility of his lower extremities. He complained of pains all over him, but more particularly in his ſtomach and the ſmall of his back.

As the accident, which gave occaſion to theſe ſymptoms, was not known to the friends of the patient, the diſorder was treated as a feveriſh complaint. It ſometimes remitted; at other times, a perfect intermiſ-

ſion

ſion of the feveriſh ſymptoms took place. The power of moving his limbs was daily diminiſhed, until, at the cloſe of ten days from the time of the accident, he was utterly incapable of lifting them from the ground. At this period no ſwelling was perceptible on his back.

In about a month after the time of receiving the injury, his ſituation was truly deplorable: his appetite was loſt, his pulſe was quick and feeble: he was affected with a cough and purging, and the facies Hippocratia was evident to an extreme degree.

At this time a lump was diſcovered, about the ſize of a large egg, not much inflamed, nor very painful, which comprehended the ſecond and third vertebræ of the loins, not unlike a beginning abſceſs.

A large inciſion was made into the tumour, and two beans inſerted: a kindly ſuppuration took place on the third day, and, at the end of a week, he was conſiderably better; his countenance was more enlivened, his pulſe improved, and the power of moving his limbs in part regained.

The iſſue diſcharging freely, the ſwelling gradually

gradually abated, and, in the ſpace of a month, intirely diſappeared.

The iſſues were dried up ſooner than the gentleman who attended had directed. At the end of three months he was able to walk a conſiderable diſtance with little inconvenience, but every material change of weather very ſenſibly affected him.

Few inſtances, hitherto obſerved, more ſtrongly point out the operation and advantage of the iſſues.

CASE XII.

A labouring man, for a length of time, had been afflicted with the ordinary ſymptoms, attendant upon an evidently diſtempered ſpine. He was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, and the cauſtics were applied, according to the preſcribed mode. At the end of a few months he ſo far recovered, that he left the hoſpital, and returned to his work. The diſorder returning, in conſequence of too early an application to his employment, he a ſecond time petitioned for aſſiſtance: the cauſtics were a ſecond time directed; but being applied by a perſon,

ſon, not under the immediate inſpection of Mr. Pott, about three inches below the protuberance, they produced no effect, though continued for many weeks. At length, upon the remonſtrance of a gentleman better acquainted with Mr. Pott's mode of treatment, they were renewed in the former place. The effect was quickly viſible. At the concluſion of two months, the patient was diſcharged in perfect health.

CASE XIII.

A girl was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, afflicted with the diſorder, termed St. Vitus's dance. Some of the vertebræ of the neck were very protuberant. The cauſtics were applied, and, from the effects produced by their uſe, it was evident the convulſive ſymptoms were derived from a diſtempered ſpine. At the cloſe of a ſhorter period than is uſual in theſe caſes, ſhe left the hoſpital, free from her complaint.

CASE XIV.

I lately attended a lady, of a very delicate frame, who was frequently affected

with pains in the ſtomach, nauſea, ſoreneſs of the ſternum, languors, hyſteric riſings, numbneſs, and cramps in the legs and feet. Her complaints, for the courſe of ſeveral years, were attributed to the gout; at length a protyberance was diſcovered in the ſpine: upon further inquiry it appeared, that this protuberance had ſubſiſted for ſome years. She complained alſo of weakneſs in her ancles, want of feeling in her hands, and ſenſations as if one ſide was upon the point of becoming paralytic, and a conſtant pain in the ſmall of her back; the protuberant ſpinal proceſſes of the affected vertebræ were tender to the touch. I adviſed the application of the cauſtics, but my remonſtrances, as has happened not unfrequently in ſimilar circumſtances, have hitherto been urged in vain.

In the courſe of my attendance at St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, and alſo in my private practice, I have not unfrequently met with complaints, ariſing from a great variety of aſſigned cauſes, which bore a ſtrong analogy to ſome of the preceding caſes. In ſeveral patients

patients of a delicate habit of body, who in early life had experienced ſcrofulous complaints, I have obſerved the joints of the knees to be feeble, ſwoln, and painful; the articulations alſo of the ſpine were ſimilarly affected, many of them evidencing great ſenſibility upon the gentleſt touch, and in a ſlight degree protuberant. Palpitations of the heart, incontinence of urine, general debility, and irregular pains in the legs and feet, have accompanied theſe ſymptoms. In other inſtances, theſe pains have been termed rheumatic, by the patients or their friends, and have been attributed to the effects of cold. I have often had reaſon to believe, that theſe complaints were the conſequences of venereal indulgences; and that, after exhibiting the appearances of the diſorder, deſcribed by Lommius * and other authors, under the name of "Tabes Dorſalis," they ſometimes terminate in a paralyſis of the lower extremities and a carious ſpine.

In ſome of the caſes which have fallen under my obſervation, the ſymptoms, during the early ſtages of the diſorder, were

* Vide Lommii Obſervat. medicinal. p. 216.

conceived to be owing to the gravel, or to rheumatiſm in the loins; and, in two or three inſtances, to the gout. This, perhaps unavoidable, miſconception in the cauſe of the diſorder, naturally led to a mode of treatment, from which the patient not only received no advantage, but was alſo ſubjected to the hazard of loſing the ſeaſon, in which the rational mode of cure could be productive of a ſalutary effect.

In two or three inſtances I have obſerved, that the termination of fever has been attended with circumſtances, that ſeemed to indicate an inflammation and conſequent abſceſs, either in the ſpine itſelf, or its vicinity; but this I offer merely as matter of conjecture, not having ſufficient authority, either from diſſections or the effect of cauſtics, to aſſert the fact.

When I firſt attended to this ſubject, I was inclined to believe that thoſe parts alone, whoſe nerves are derived from the ſpinal marrow, below the injured vertebræ, or from its immediate vicinity, were affected with numbneſs, pain, paralyſis, or ſpaſm; but many caſes have lately been obſerved in the

the hoſpital I attend, and others I have ſeen in private practice, in which the upper extremities have been affected, although the diſorder occupied parts of the ſpine, conſiderably beneath the origins of the axillary plexus. I conceive it would not be a matter of difficulty to explain this fact, as well as many others of a ſimilar kind, from the doctrine lately advanced by the ingenious Scarpa, reſpecting the nature and uſe of the ganglions of the nerves, and the conſequent prevalence of ſympathy in the nervous ſyſtem; but it would be a departure from my purpoſe to introduce theoretical diſquiſitions into an eſſay merely practical. Whether the following caſe can be urged as an evidence of the fact, I will not poſitively determine; the detail of it, however, may perhaps anſwer ſome purpoſes of no leſs importance.

CASE XV.

R. I. aged twenty-four years, was admitted into St. Bartholomew's hoſpital in May, 1781.

Every attention poſſible was afforded to his caſe by the phyſician. The following

remedies were preſcribed: Mithridat. cum ſpir. Minder. pil. aromatic—rad. val. ſylv. p. ſemin. ſinap. āā dr. j. cum decoct. cort.—baln. frigid.—julep. volat.—ol. e pedibus bovin.—tinct. guaiac. volat. ter die—infuſ. lenit. pro re natâ—hauſt. oleos. cum mannâ—enema Terebinth.—ol. ricini, ſextis horis.

At the cloſe of ſix weeks from the date of his admiſſion, upon the recommendation of the attending phyſician, he was examined by Mr. Pott. The tenth vertebra of the back was found conſiderably protuberant.

The following is an abſtract of his ſymptoms at this period:

He lay conſtantly on his back, unable to turn himſelf in bed, and almoſt intirely deprived of the uſe of all his limbs. His legs, ſix or ſeven times in an hour, were drawn upwards with convulſive twitchings, his great toes and fingers being alſo agitated with ſpaſms. His head, at the ſame time, was drawn violently backward; all theſe convulſive motions were attended with conſiderable anxiety. Numbneſs prevailed in his loins, his knees, and feet. The ſenſe of feeling and powers of motion were deſtroyed

ſtroyed in almoſt every part of his frame: his abdomen was ſwoln and hard: an obſtinate coſtiveneſs and difficulty of making water were ſuperadded to theſe ſufferings; a violent pain was felt in the protuberant vertebra, when he was under the influence of the ſpaſms.

It appeared from his hiſtory, that he had been affected with the lues, and for ſome years paſt had been very much devoted to venereal indulgences.

The firſt ſymptom that alarmed him, was a ſtiffneſs in his neck, which came upon him ſuddenly in the night, about three months before the time of his admiſſion. At the end of two months from the firſt ſeizure, his right leg began to be affected. The cold-bath was preſcribed at this period, which aggravated his complaints. He gradually grew worſe till a general coldneſs prevailed through the whole ſyſtem, and every part of his frame was affected with paralyſis or ſpaſm.

The application of the cauſtics was attended with very little advantage: through a defect of the vital power, they occaſioned

no pain; and it was with difficulty nature effected a ſeparation of the ſloughs: his diſtreſſing ſymptoms continued till his death, which took place in about two months after the nature of his complaint was aſcertained.

In two or three inſtances, I have obſerved the upper cervical vertebræ affected. In one of theſe, a collection of matter was found in the vicinity of the ſecond vertebra, commonly termed dentata. The unhappy ſufferer, upon every motion of his head, felt a pain deſcend in the courſe of the ſpinal marrow, with general numbneſs, and ſometimes pricking pains at the extremities of his toes and fingers.

I am ſenſible that the credit of a remedy frequently ſucceſsful is often impaired by its injudicious, or too extenſive application, yet, ſeeing every reaſon to conclude with Mr. Pott, that the advantage gained from the cauſtics is, in a great meaſure, owing to the new irritation, or diſcharge, occaſioned by them in the vicinity of the affected part, I cannot omit this opportunity of recommending their uſe in many idiopathic affections of the head.

Iſſues

Iſſues in the neck have frequently been adviſed, in caſes of apoplexy and palſy, by phyſicians and ſurgeons of the greateſt name. It is to be wiſhed, that the effects of cauſtics in removing the diſtreſſing ſymptoms, attendant upon a diſtempered ſpine, may lead practitioners to a more general application of this remedy, when the primary ſource of ſenſation and motion is the ſeat of the complaint.

I am perſuaded, that if all the caſes of a diſtempered ſpine, which have occurred during the laſt five years at St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, were faithfully and circumſtantially reported, great advantage would be derived to medical knowledge, and the mode of treatment, recommended by Mr. Pott, be ſtill more evidently demonſtrated. The intereſts of truth have nothing to apprehend from the keenneſs of inveſtigation, and the utmoſt ſeverity of human judgment. I ſhould, therefore, wiſh to ſee the doctrine, advanced by that accompliſhed practitioner, further diſcuſſed, convinced, that its harmony with truth and reaſon

would

would be eſtabliſhed by an appeal to fact: the hoſpitals of this metropolis and kingdom would afford too many opportunities of aſcertaining this point.

I am ſenſible that the preceding details are in many reſpects imperfect: from an hope, however, that they may not be altogether unuſeful, they are, with deference, ſubmitted to the indulgent candour of the public.

It remains that I ſubjoin the reſult of my own experience and obſervation on this ſubject.

The general concluſions, ſuggeſted by the preceding caſes, and above twice the number of others, to which I have afforded a diſtinct attention, are as follows:

1. That the cauſtics, which were indiſcriminately applied in every ſtage of the diſeaſe, were the efficient means of cure in a majority of the caſes: and that they generally ſucceeded, when the caſe could, with propriety, be termed a fair one.

2. That in the remainder, with two or three exceptions, they produced an evident effect

effect in reſtoring ſenſibility and ſome degree of motion.

3. That in the unſucceſsful caſes, the patients died exhauſted by hectic fever, and the genuine effects of the diſtemper, and did not appear to be prejudiced, in the remoteſt degree, by the application of the cauſtics.

APPENDIX.

CASE OF CATALEPSY.

ALTHOUGH the ſubjoined hiſtory has no connection with the preceding caſes, I truſt the peruſal of it will not be unpleaſing to my readers, as it relates to a diſorder of unfrequent occurrence in ordinary practice.

In the latter end of the laſt year, I was deſired to viſit a young lady, who, for nine months, had been afflicted with that ſingular diſorder termed "a catalepſy." Although ſhe was prepared for my viſit, ſhe was ſeized with the diſorder as ſoon as my arrival was announced. She was employed in netting, and was paſſing the needle through the meſh; in which poſition ſhe immediately became rigid, exhibiting, in a very pleaſing form, a figure of death-like ſleep, beyond the power of art to imitate, or the imagination to conceive. Her forehead was ſerene, her features perfectly compoſed. The paleneſs

neſs of her colour, her breathing at a diſtance being alſo ſcarce perceptible, operated in rendering the ſimilitude to marble more exact and ſtriking. The poſition of her fingers, hands, and arms, was altered with difficulty; but they preſerved every form of flexure they acquired: nor were the muſcles of the neck exempted from this law; her head maintaining every ſituation, in which the hand could place it, as firmly as her limbs.

Upon gently raiſing the eyelids, they immediately cloſed, with a degree of ſpaſm. The iris contracted upon the approach of a candle, as in a ſtate of vigilance; the eyeball itſelf was ſlightly agitated with a tremulous motion, not diſcernible when the eyelid had deſcended.

About half an hour after my arrival, the rigidity in her limbs and ſtatue-like appearance being yet unaltered, ſhe ſung three plaintive ſongs, in a tone of voice ſo elegantly expreſſive, and with ſuch affecting modulation, as evidently pointed out, how much the moſt powerful paſſion of the mind was concerned in the production of her diſ-

order,

order, as indeed her hiſtory confirmed. In a few minutes afterwards ſhe ſighed deeply, and the ſpaſm in her limbs was immediately relaxed. She complained that ſhe could not open her eyes, her hands grew cold, a general tremor followed; but, in a few ſeconds, recovering intirely her recollection and powers of motion, ſhe entered into a detail of her ſymptoms, and the hiſtory of her complaints.

She informed me, that ſhe had no recollection whatever of what paſſed in the fits; that upon coming out of them ſhe felt fatigue, in proportion to the time of their continuance; and that they ſometimes laſted for five hours, though generally for a much ſhorter period.

She further related, that the fits returned once or twice a day, ſometimes more frequently; but that ſhe never was troubled with them in the night. She ſometimes loſt her ſight and ſpeech, the power over her limbs, and her intellectual faculties remaining unimpaired. The fits frequently attacked her without any previous warning: at other times, a fluttering at her ſtomach, and a fixed

fixed pain at the top of her head, occupying a part which ſhe could cover with her finger, announced their approach.

Hyſterical riſings in her throat, appearances of fire, pains in her eyes, and not unfrequently in her teeth, flatulence, a ſenſe of weight in her ſtomach after eating, with convulſive motions in the region of that organ, were ſuperadded ſymptoms, of which ſhe much complained.

Her diſorder was evidently exaſperated at the approach of the catamenia, which were conſtantly preſent at the regular period. She was always much agitated previouſly to a ſtorm of thunder; and every material alteration of the weather produced a ſenſible effect.

After ſhe had diſcourſed for ſome time with apparent calmneſs, the univerſal ſpaſm ſuddenly returned. Her features now aſſumed a different form, denoting a mind ſtrongly impreſſed with anxiety and apprehenſion. At times ſhe uttered ſhort and vehement exclamations, in a piercing tone of voice, expreſſive of the paſſions that agitated her mind; her hands being ſtrongly

locked

locked in each other, and all her muſcles, thoſe ſubſervient to ſpeech excepted, being affected with the ſame rigidity as before.

During the time of my attendance, ſimilar appearances were frequently exhibited.

I was informed, by the family, of many particularities in the acceſs of the diſorder, all denoting its inſtantaneous effect upon the nervous ſyſtem. She once was ſeized in my preſence while drinking tea, and became univerſally rigid, at the inſtant ſhe was advancing the tea-cup to her mouth. Her tears ſometimes flowed copiouſly, while every internal, as well as external ſenſe, ſeemed intirely locked up in ſleep.

I will now proceed to deſcribe the progreſs of the diſorder, and the mode of treatment, before ſhe was intruſted to my care.

It appears, that for many years before the acceſs of the cataleptical ſymptoms, ſhe had ſuffered much from violent head-achs, particularly that ſpecies of head-ach, termed clavus hyſtericus. Her ſpirits were eaſily diſcompoſed. Her fingers, upon touching cold ſubſtances, would frequently loſe their natural heat and feeling. Her habit of body had

had been uncommonly coſtive, but of late her bowels were much diſturbed by every kind of laxative. Her nervous complaints were always particularly troubleſome at the approach of rain, and after a ſleepleſs night.

Her diſorder commenced with hyſteric fits; to theſe ſucceeded a delirium of ſeveral days continuance, attended with ſlight ſhiverings, but no other ſign of fever: the catalepſy followed next in order, which at firſt affected her with only ſingle fits, at a week or fortnight's interval; theſe gradually advanced in ſtrength and frequency, until, by her own ſufferings, and her ſenſibility, on account of the anxiety of her friends, ſhe was reduced to the moſt pitiable diſtreſs.

Before I ſaw her, ſhe had been under the care of a phyſician of eminence in the country, who had attended to her caſe with ſingular humanity, and had preſcribed various medicines of the nervous kind; which at one time produced ſo favourable an effect, as even to flatter with the proſpect of a cure; but the ſymptoms returning with increaſed violence, through freſh anxiety of mind, the

ſame courſe of medicine was not attended with the ſame ſucceſs.

Muſk, opium, and bark, the latter of which did not always agree with her bowels, were found moſt effective. Of muſk ſhe had taken to the amount of a drachm and a half each day. Its uſe removed a ſenſe of chillneſs, of which ſhe before had much complained. A few drops of laudanum at the hour of reſt had alſo been attended with advantage.

After I had tried æther—liquor anodyn. mineral. Hoffm.—ol. eſſent. e flor. chamæm. —ol. ſuccini—extract. cicut.—rubig. chalyb. ppt.—ſal ſuccini—julep e camphorâ, and opium in a great variety of forms, without much advance, I found the following application had an evident good effect:

R. Opii colati
Camphoræ $\overline{aa}$ drach. i.
Emplaſtr. ſtomach. q. s. f. emplaſt. regioni ventriculi admovendum.

Obſerving the effect of this application, and reflecting upon the many tokens of debility

bility which her ſtomach exhibited, I directed my attention to the ſtrengthening of that organ, and, notwithſtanding the diſcouraging circumſtances that had formerly attended the exhibition of the bark, determined to make another trial of its power.

I choſe the following form of preparation, which Dr. Whytt had found to be particularly ſerviceable in hyſterical complaints:

R. Cort. Peruv. p. uncias duas,
Rad. gentian.
Cort. aurantior. $\overline{aa}$ drachmas ſex,
miſce: infunde in ſpir. vinoſ. Gallic. lb. ii, in balneo arenæ, per dies ſex & cola.

Finding, upon trial, that half an ounce of this tincture, the quantity directed by Dr. Whytt, though diluted with two ounces of water, was more than her ſtomach would bear, I preſcribed as follows:

R. Aquæ puræ unciam unam cum ſemiſſe,
Tinct. præſcript. drachmas duas,
Spir. lavend. c. drachmam unam,
M. f. hauſt. bis die ſumendus.

Inſtead of the common kinds of tea, I adviſed her to drink an infuſion of the outward rind of a lemon, which appeared particularly grateful to her taſte and ſtomach.

She declared that ſhe felt immediate benefit from this preſcription.

She took ſome drops of Hoffman's anodyne liquor, or of laudanum, as occaſion appeared to require.

She perſiſted in this courſe with evident advantage. Her fits grew leſs frequent, returning faintly after a week or fortnight's interval: her ſpirits were improved, her ſtrength increaſed, until at length, without the uſe of any other medicine, ſhe became intirely free from all complaint.

AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX,
ASSEMBLED AT
FREE MASONS TAVERN,
IN GREAT QUEEN STREET,
ON MONDAY THE XXth OF DECEMBER, MDCCLXXIX.
FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING MEETINGS TO MAINTAIN AND SUPPORT THE FREEDOM OF ELECTION.

De Bello Sabino eos referre; tanquam majus ullum populo Romano bellum ſit, quam cum iis, qui legum ferendarum cauſa creati, nihil juris in civitate reliquerint: qui comitia, qui annuos magiſtratus, qui viciſſitudinem imperitandi (quod unum exæquandæ ſit libertatis) ſuſtulerint.

Liv. lib. iii. c: 39.

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MDCCLXXXII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In the following tract, I have endeavoured to vindicate the primary rights of the engliſh commonalty, conſidered as a component part of the conſtitution; and have pointed out a peaceable and effectual mode of correcting the abuſes of repreſentation, under the ſanction of their authority and power.

It has been objected, that by the eſtabliſhment of committees and delegations, a fourth power, unknown to the conſtitution, has been called into exiſtence; and that the ſenſe of the people can only be declared by their repreſentatives in parliament.

On the other ſide, we are called upon to attend to that fatal ſubjection of the commons' houſe of parliament to the will of the miniſter, from whence all our preſent calamities are derived; a ſubjection, evidently ariſing from the imperfection of its conſtitution, or, in other words, from the inequality of the repreſentation, the unwarrantable reſtrictions of that right of voting, to which every engliſhman is entitled,

titled, and the prolongation of parliaments, beyond their ancient period.

In ſuch circumſtances can it be our duty to venerate the ſhadow, the ſubſtance being long ſince fled? Or muſt we, in a cauſe peculiarly our own, ſit down in criminal inactivity, expectant that our rights ſhall be recovered by the unaſſiſted exertions of our friends in the ariſtocracy, or ſpontaneouſly conceded to us by the crown?

When the ordinary delegation ceaſes to expreſs the people's will, are the commons of this country altogether deſtitute of conſtitutional reſource? When ſuch doctrines are openly maintained, it becomes us not to reaſon, but to act.

The voice of the people is, and ought to be, a voice of terror to a bad government; but it will ever be liſtened to by an adminiſtration of a different character, with complacency and delight.

It ſurely, therefore, muſt afford peculiar pleaſure to thoſe illuſtrious perſonages, who now poſſeſs the reins of power, when they perceive themſelves encouraged and ſupported, in their generous efforts to reſtore

the

the conſtitution, by the grateful voice of an applauding public.

Among the various meaſures, recommended for the purpoſe of reſtoring freedom and independency to parliament, I muſt confeſs, there is one to which I am particularly partial. It is certainly allowable for every citizen to promote by peaceful means, while the queſtion lies before the public in its preſent ſtate of indeciſion, that ſpecific plan, which, in his own judgment, appears moſt agreeable to juſtice and the conſtitution. Yet, ſenſible that whatever has the ſanction of leſs than a majority, is not the act of the commons of England; I would not be underſtood to wiſh the eſtabliſhment of any other plan of reformation, than that, which, upon a fair appeal, ſhall ultimately approve itſelf to the general ſenſe of an enlightened people.

Craven-ſtreet, May 3, 1782.

TO THE

CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING

OF THE

FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX, &c.

SIR,

THE profeſſed deſign of your meeting, and the preſent alarming ſtate of public affairs, induce me to ſubmit the following ſentiments to the judgment of yourſelf, and the other gentlemen aſſembled; preſuming, if they appear to be founded in reaſon, they will not be the leſs regarded, on account of their being ſuggeſted by an unknown individual.*

The

* It has been ſuggeſted to the author of theſe pages, that it is poſſible the parliament may be diſſolved, ſhortly after the expiration of the preſent receſs. Such an apprehenſion, if juſtly founded, will probably operate upon the counties, to preſs the neceſſity of a ſpeedy inquiry into the expenditure of the revenue, and incline them

The degree of attention, which ought in reaſon to be paid by the repreſentative in parliament to the inſtructions of his conſtituents, has often been the ſubject of controverſy. It has frequently been contended, when, upon various occaſions, the ſentiments of the electors of England have been conveyed to the elected, that the latter were juſtified in paying no further degree of attention to them, than the arguments, conſidered

them ſtrongly to recommend the eſtabliſhment of certain œconomical regulations, of no little conſequence to the well-being of the ſtate. Such topics, as have a more immediate connection with our political exiſtence, will doubtleſs not eſcape their notice.

A people may be, for a time, proſperous and happy, when the perſons, to whom the crown confides the powers of adminiſtration, act in a manner conformable to the high importance of the truſt.

A people is free, when ſuch conſtitutional checks exiſt, as render it impracticable for miniſters to betray the public cauſe.

The happineſs of engliſhmen ought not to depend upon the precarious virtue of a miniſter of ſtate; they have a right to require, that it be founded on the ſolid baſis of parliamentary independence.

I know ſome perſons, who, if the opportunity, which now preſents itſelf, of ſecuring this important point, ſhould be neglected, will be ready to exclaim,—"time was—actum eſt de libertate anglicanâ"

ſidered independently of the authority of the perſons inſtructing, or remonſtrating, appeared to deſerve.

It has been urged upon ſuch occaſions, that the perſon, thus inſtructed, ought to conſider himſelf as the repreſentative of the kingdom at large; and, therefore, as not under a particular obligation to obey the inſtructions of the county, or borough, which returns him. A movement of ſuch importance, as will hereafter be propoſed, ſhould be founded on principles, which, like maxims of law, or axioms in geometry, admit not of debate.*

With

* The right of the electors of Great-Britain, to adviſe and inſtruct their repreſentatives, and the obligation which the latter are under, freely to communicate and conſult with thoſe, from whom they have received their power, are founded upon the juſteſt principles; the practice is agreeable to immemorial uſage; and it would have been happy for this country, had ſuch an intercourſe more frequently prevailed. A queſtion, however, naturally ariſes concerning the obligation of the repreſentative to obey the inſtructions of the particular diſtrict, or the borough, which returns him, when his deference to the ſentiments of other parts of the kingdom, the ſuperior lights he may derive from his ſituation, or the

With greater appearance of reaſon it has been contended, that the repreſentatives of the

the dictates of his conſcience, would incline him to purſue a different conduct.

The following caſe may aſſiſt us in the ſolution of this difficulty.

Let us ſuppoſe that a member of the commons' houſe of parliament is inſtructed to declare his diſſent, in caſe a bill ſhould be introduced, which has for its object the abolition of the ſlave trade; a practice, ſo abhorrent from the dictates of humanity, and the principles of our religion, that I make no ſcruple of affirming, with a very excellent citizen, and reſpectable writer, that it ought not to be tolerated in a chriſtian country.

Let us further ſuppoſe, that the majority of the repreſentatives of the people have alſo been inſtructed by their conſtituents, to promote the introduction of a bill, for its immediate abolition.

Let us, laſtly, ſuppoſe that the principles, on which ſuch a bill is founded, accord with the feelings, and the judgment of the member, who has received inſtructions to oppoſe it.

In theſe circumſtances, it is demanded, what is that line of conduct, which it would become ſuch member to purſue, who, attentive to the dictates of conſcience and honour, is alſo willing to approve himſelf a friend to the rights of human kind?

Since the publication of the laſt edition of this pamphlet, I have reconſidered this ſubject, and, in conſequence of the further lights I have received, am now decidedly of opinion, that it would be the bounden duty

of

the commons, actually aſſembled in parliament, may permit to lie neglected on their table, the petition or remonſtrance of the moſt reſpectable, or moſt populous, county of

of the member thus inſtructed, either to comply with the requiſition of his conſtituents, or to reſign his truſt.

The repreſentative is, properly ſpeaking, the proxy of the inhabitants of the diſtrict which returns him. He acts or he aſſents in the name of parties, who, by the inſtrumentality of his perſon, are reputed preſent in parliament, and, conſequently, ſhould conſider himſelf as the organ of their will, in every inſtance where that will is poſitively declared. If, however, it appears to the repreſentative, that the conduct preſcribed, as may readily be ſuppoſed in the caſe before us, can by no means be reconciled with his principles as a chriſtian, or his feelings as a man, he ſhould be allowed an opportunity of diveſting himſelf of a truſt, the functions of which he can no longer honeſtly diſcharge.

It is aſſerted by Mr. Burgh, in his "Political diſquiſitions," that there is no advantage within the reach of a particular people, that may not be obtained by parliamentary government, in as effectual a manner, as if every inhabitant of the country were to deliberate and vote in perſon. The poſition is ſtrictly juſt, provided an equal repreſentation were eſtabliſhed, the right of univerſal ſuffrage reſtored, and the compliance of the repreſentative with the wiſhes of his conſtituents ſecured, by the abolition of the undue influence of the crown, and the reduction of parliaments to their ancient period.

of the kingdom, if the ſentiments, contained in the ſaid petition or remonſtrance, be diſcordant with their own.

Partial intereſts, and a partial conception of the point in queſtion, may, with greater probability, be ſuppoſed to prevail in a county meeting, however reſpectable, than in the public aſſembly of the nation. A declaration of opinion, in the ſtrongeſt language of remonſtrance, cannot be unlawful, and may frequently be expedient; and the right of petitioning is a privilege, to which the obſcureſt individual is entitled. But the power to reject, or to redreſs, muſt, in ordinary inſtances, be conſidered as veſted in the general repreſentative of all the commons of England. *

For

* Every ſubject of this ſtate is not only authoriſed, but by the genius of engliſh liberty he is encouraged and exhorted, freely to examine the defects of the conſtitution, the errors of government, and the conduct of the perſons, employed in its various departments; and as freely to cenſure, wherever cenſure, in his judgment, ſhall be due. I am ſometimes afraid, that the preſent inattention of the nation, to affairs of ſtate, is a ſymptom of its approaching diſſolution. I wiſh to ſee the ancient ſpirit of my countrymen revive; I wiſh to ſee them

For although it be allowed, that the inhabitants of a diſtrict, which returns a member to

them a nation of politicians, and the principle of the famous ordinance of Solon univerſally prevail. There are times, when it ſhould be eſteemed criminal in any perſon, arrived at years of diſcretion, not to have formed an opinion; treaſonable, when a fair opportunity preſents itſelf, not to propagate, and ſupport his opinion, by the force of argument, and every legal method in his power.

For theſe and many other reaſons, the uſurped power of excluding the ſubject from the galleries of the commons' houſe of parliament, more eſpecially as exerciſed of late years, appears to me a direct violation of one of the moſt important privileges of the people. It deprives the elector of the opportunity of hearing, what it highly concerns him to know; and diminiſhes the force of that ſalutary apprehenſion, in the mind of the elected, which, in the midſt of the temptations he is expoſed to, has not unfrequently afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance to his virtue. It defrauds the true patriot of part of his reward, and ſhelters the perſon of the midnight aſſaſſin of the conſtitution, from deſerved ignominy and diſgrace; but I forbear.

The only argument offered in juſtification of this practice, that deſerves the leaſt attention, is founded upon the idea, that foreign powers may thus become more eaſily acquainted with our national concerns. But ſuch arguments would have no place, were the deliberations of the commons' houſe of parliament confined to the

to the commons' houſe of parliament, have a right to influence the conduct of their repreſentative, yet every other member, not ſimilarly inſtructed, is free to act as his own diſcretion ſhall direct.

Hence, upon an application to the commons' houſe of parliament, if the petitioning party be a minority of the kingdom, the voice of the majority in parliament ought to prevail againſt a minority of the conſtituent body.

I am ſenſible, however, that caſes may occur, particularly caſes of election, in which, the commons' houſe of parliament may extend its juriſdiction beyond the bounds preſcribed by reaſon and the conſtitution; in ſuch I do not hold, that the aggrieved electors, even of a ſingle diſtrict, can be concluded by a parliamentary vote.

But if doubts have ariſen, concerning the obligation of an individual in the commons' houſe of parliament, to attend to the inſtructions

the proper objects. It has, with reaſon, been aſſerted, that this branch of the legiſlature, of late years, has too frequently aſſumed the executive functions of government.

ſtructions of his immediate conſtituent, with very little appearance of reaſon can it be maintained, that the electors or freeholders of a ſingle city or county have a right to dictate the line of conduct to the crown.

The king, the houſe of lords, and the commons of this country, fairly and adequately repreſented in parliament, are to be conſidered, with reſpect to each other, as free and independent: * while the conſtitution

 ſubſiſts,

* It was my intention, in uſing theſe ſtrong expreſſions, to impreſs upon the minds of my countrymen an important truth, the right conception of which may have a conſiderable influence upon their future conduct.

By theſe expreſſions, however, I would be only underſtood to mean, that, in caſe any one of the three diviſions of the legiſlature ſhould refuſe to comply with the inclinations of the other two, or ſhould even be diſpoſed to act in oppoſition to them, the combined portions are not inveſted, by the conſtitution, with any authority to compel the diſſentient party to a concurrence with their meaſures, or legally to arraign its conduct.

The proper rights and functions of each of theſe powers, and the paſſions incident to human nature, when placed in certain circumſtances, tend, however, to unite them, on every occaſion, where the public good requires their conſent; and the ſame paſſions alſo tend to control,

ſubſiſts, they are equally exempt from the moſt diſtant idea of mutual coercion and control.

If, therefore, all the commons of England, repreſented in parliament, cannot preſume to dictate to the crown, without an infringement of its rights, how ſlender muſt be the claim

trol, or moderate, their mutual actions, and effectually to prevent their union; when ſuch union would obſtruct the general welfare of the ſtate. I readily acknowledge, that, in this ſenſe, no branch of the legiſlature can be conſidered as free and independent. They all are ſubjected, equally with individuals, to thoſe moral cauſes, which, in the moſt exalted ſtate of political liberty, with reſiſtleſs energy, though frequently ſilent, and unobſerved, control, direct and modify the actions of mankind.

But I here am ſpeaking of the engliſh conſtitution, according to its model of perfection, not its preſent ſtate.

Let any unprejudiced perſon conſult the "Political diſquiſitions" of the late excellent Mr. Burgh; let him attend to facts, which muſt have fallen within his proper knowledge; and he may poſſibly be inclined to doubt, whether an engliſh houſe of commons is in being at this inſtant. Let him turn his attention to the riſing ſpirit of this much inſulted nation, and it is poſſible he may conceive, that the preſent is the moment for giving exiſtence to ſuch a body; and that this might be effected, by meaſures perfectly conſtitutional and pacific.

claim of a ſingle portion of the conſtituent body to ſuch an high prerogative?

This doctrine, I truſt, will not be found in the leaſt to militate againſt the acknowledged right of the people to new-model the conſtitution, and to puniſh, with exemplary rigour, every perſon, with whom they have intruſted power, provided, in their opinion, he ſhall be found to have betrayed that truſt.

I ſpeak only of a period, when, from the acquieſcence of the people, it plainly appears to be their will, that the form of government, already eſtabliſhed, ſhould continue in exiſtence.

Widely different from the preſent, would be the nature of my argument, and the energy of my expreſſions, were I treating of that ſolemn hour, when the delegates of a ſtate, choſen according to forms, which not law and cuſtom, but neceſſity or expedience ſhall preſcribe, and aſſembling for the purpoſe of inquiring into the abuſe of power, ſhall ſit in awful judgment upon the traiterous invaders of their rights. In ſuch aſſembly alone, I acknowledge the ſovereign

power to reſide. To ſuch alone, the tremendous name of majeſty may, with propriety, be attributed. And, compared with its imperial juriſdiction, the prerogatives of the crown, the ſplendid privileges of the nobles, and the authority of the commons' houſe of parliament, either ſeparately conſidered, or combined, are leſs than duſt upon the ſcale. *

For the reaſons above-mentioned, and others to which I ſhall not at preſent call the attention of my readers, the memorable petitions of the freeholders of Middleſex, and of other counties of England, to the crown, praying a diſſolution of the parliament, appear to have been very ill calculated

* Great advantage would be derived to the community, were our fellow-citizens, of the lower claſſes, properly inſtructed in the juſt and conſtitutional meaning of ſuch terms as the following, viz. majeſty, ſubject, ſovereign, republic, loyalty, allegiance, rebellion, treaſon, prærogative, king's bread, king's armies, my people, &c. We never can expect to behold a proper exertion of the natural good ſenſe, and ſpirit of the nation, until the underſtandings, and affections, of all orders of men, are emancipated from the influence of the falſe ideas, which ignorance, or the art of deſigning politicians, have annexed to theſe expreſſions.

lated to produce any ſalutary effect. To what purpoſe was it to prefer an ungrateful petition to a power, which you could not legally coerce? Men poſſeſſed of power are not diſpoſed to part with it, upon the petition of the perſons, who have declared themſelves injured by its exertion. Such mode of ſeeking redreſs rather tends to perpetuate the grievances, of which we complain. It cannot be conſtrued a breach of privilege to aſſert, that the houſe of commons of that day was an engine of oppreſſion, worked by that very power, from which it was requeſted the deſtruction of it ſhould proceed.*

 Whether

* Theſe remonſtrances of the counties, ſo far as they were declarations of the opinion of the petitioning parties, reſpecting the tranſaction here alluded to, were perfectly conſtitutional. The error conſiſted in requeſting or expecting, as matters were then circumſtanced, that the crown would interfere in the diſpute. There is a difference between an obligation ſtrictly moral, and an obligation eſtabliſhed by the ſanctions of municipal law. There is alſo a difference between being obliged to receive a petition, and being obliged to comply with its prayer.

Whenever it is in contemplation, to offer a petition to

Whether the ſame objections can reaſonably be urged againſt the following meaſures, the wiſdom of your aſſembly muſt decide. I will ſtate my idea with all the brevity and preciſion in my power.

As there is reaſon to believe that other counties will ſoon follow your laudable example, in appointing meetings, for the purpoſe of maintaining and ſupporting the freedom of election, it might not be improper for the county, which ſets the glorious example, to draw the outlines of a regular plan, in which all the counties, that may hereafter be diſpoſed to purſue a ſimilar line of conduct, may concur.

With a view of facilitating the execution of any important meaſure, hereafter to be adopted,

to a power, of whoſe friendly diſpoſition a doubt is entertained, the petitioning parties ſhould always aſk themſelves the following queſtion, viz. ſuppoſing our ſuit ſhould be rejected, or paſſed over without notice, is it in our power to manifeſt ſuch reſentment, as may induce the rejecters to pay greater attention to a ſecond application. If the parties petitioned apprehend, that the ſupplicants are poſſeſſed of ſuch a power, they will, in all probability, attend even to the firſt requeſt.

The conduct of the engliſh miniſter to a ſiſter kingdom will afford a comment to this doctrine.

adopted, it would be expedient to inſtitute a general eſtimate of the number of the inhabitants, contained in the ſeveral counties, cities, and principal manufacturing towns in this kingdom; and from thence to form a calculation of the number of deputies, which ought to be ſent by each, provided it ſhould be thought requiſite for them to confer upon the proper meaſures for carrying their reſolutions into effect.

As ſoon as theſe numbers are aſcertained, let the idea be communicated to the approved friends of liberty in other counties, and let it be ſubmitted to their judgment, whether it would not be expedient to eſtabliſh ſtanding committees, and to have reſpect to the aforeſaid calculation, in their appointment. For inſtance; if the Middleſex committee ſhould conſiſt of (thirty) members, the ſtanding committee of Yorkſhire, Norfolk, Hampſhire, Huntingdonſhire, &c. ſhould conſiſt of a number, proportioned to the population of thoſe counties.

It will doubtleſs appear an adviſable meaſure, after ſuch ſtanding committees have

have been eſtabliſhed, that they ſhould communicate, from time to time, with each other, by their chairmen or ſecretaries, and, by their joint and ſeparate influence, endeavour to induce other counties to follow their example; but it would, by no means, be expedient for them, to aſſociate in the proſecution of any invariable plan, until it ſhall appear, that a majority of the kingdom ſhall be willing to concur in one deſign.

When this moment is arrived, the committees of each county may depute a proportionate number of their body, to confer upon a proper form of remonſtrance to the commons' houſe of parliament; in which may be ſet forth the grievance, the nature of the expected redreſs, with a ſubjoined demand of ſuch redreſs, within a limited time.

It may, in the laſt place, appear expedient, after a form of remonſtrance has been approved by the committees, that it ſhould be properly authenticated, as the public ACT of the combined counties. It would then be ready for preſentation at the bar of the houſe, according to ſuch ſolemnities, and with ſuch attendance, as the laws may authorize,

thorize, and the importance of the ſubject-matter demand.

The objection that lay againſt the idea of a ſingle county petitioning parliament, or of all the counties in ſucceſſion, would here have no place. The counties, thus remonſtrating in combination, might juſtly aſſume a very different tone from the ſame counties without ſuch connection. The command would proceed from the principal to the delegate, from the maſter to the ſervant, againſt whom may be iſſued an immediate revocation of all diſcretionary powers, the moment it is perceived, that the concerns of the principal are likely to ſuffer, through the want of honeſty, or ability, in the perſon he employs.

The former plea of the delegate, that he is a repreſentative of the community at large, may be urged againſt him, for here the community at large requires his compliance.

It is alſo to be conſidered, that the members of the houſe of commons ſit, not in their own right, (like the king and nobles) but as proxies for others; and the proxy ought,

in

in all reaſon, to be regarded as annihilated, when the voice of the principal ſhall be thus diſtinctly heard.

The king, the hereditary nobility, and the commons, form the conſtitutional legiſlature of this country. The particular manner, in which the latter give their voice, is a ſubordinate conſideration. If they could aſſemble in perſon for this purpoſe, as was the caſe at Athens, and at Rome, the higheſt reſpect would be due to ſuch tranſcendent authority: but as ſuch mode is liable to very forcible objections, and indeed would be impracticable, the proper expedient is an equal and adequate repreſentation; and in ſuch a repreſentative, whether it be convoked by ordinary or extraordinary forms, I apprehend every power and privilege, with which a commons' houſe of parliament can be inveſted, do ſubſtantially reſide.*

But

* It is the proper end and aim of repreſentation, that the intereſts of all claſſes and deſcriptions of men ſhould, without reſpect of parties, be effectually conſulted, in the public ordinances of the nation. Whether theſe intereſts may be beſt ſecured, by attending to property, or to numbers, is a ſubject deſerving of the moſt ſerious attention.

It

But let us imagine, for a moment, that an authority, thus reſpectable, on account of property and numbers, ſhould not in this inſtance be obeyed.

The perſons, delegated by the committees to carry this mandate to the houſe of commons, report to the bodies which deputed them, the event of their remonſtrance.

The committees aſſemble the counties, and make a report of their proceedings.

Under theſe circumſtances, perſons of character and influence may ariſe in each county

It has been ſtrenuouſly maintained, that it would be impolitic to extend the election franchiſe to the lower orders of ſociety, and that greater diſorders, than what we already experience, would enſue from ſuch indulgence. Others, with greater appearance of reaſon, aſſert, that theſe diſorders actually ariſe in conſequence of the ſubtraction of thoſe political rights to which every engliſhman is entitled, and certain defects in the mode of conducting elections, which a few plain and ſimple regulations would remove.

I beg leave to refer my readers, who are deſirous of information with reſpect both to the matter of right and expediency, to the various publications of major Cartwright, Mr. Granville Sharp, and the rev. Mr. Northcote, who have unfolded the nature of the elective franchiſe, and defended the claim of every citizen to its enjoyment, with the utmoſt perſpicuity, and unanſwerable ſtrength of argument.

county aſſembly, and propoſe the election of a new committee, formed upon the ſame principles, but intruſted with more important powers: * it may alſo be expedient to recommend a general aſſociation of the county, by the terms of which, the parties lay themſelves under a ſolemn obligation, as men of honour, and friends of their country, to agree to, and ſupport, every conſtitutional meaſure, which the major part of the committees ſhall think it expedient to propoſe,

* A propoſition, expreſſive of this idea, might be conceived in the following terms.

"That it is the ſenſe of the inhabitants of this city or county, that ( ) perſons be appointed a committee for the purpoſe of deliberating with the committees of like-diſpoſed cities or counties, upon the ſtate of the repreſentation; that the members of this committee be hereby authorized to exerciſe all ſuch powers, as by immemorial uſage do belong to the members of the commons' houſe of parliament; that they be alſo inveſted with the further power of aſſenting, in conjunction with the king and hereditary nobility, to ſuch regulations, as may be propoſed, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an equal and univerſal repreſentation of the people, in ſeſſional parliaments, agreeably to the ancient conſtitution and cuſtoms of this realm; and, laſtly, that this commiſſion ſhall terminate at the expiration of ( ) months."

poſe, for the purpoſe of obtaining an effectual redreſs.

The attention of the people will thus at length be excited; they will ſee before them a ſet of men who are guiltleſs of the charge of having betrayed the moſt important of all truſts; an intire confidence will be repoſed in them by their conſtituents; and the conſciouſneſs of this confidence will give additional vigour to every reſolution. Meaſures, dictated by patriotiſm, directed by prudence, and ſupported by a ſterner ſpirit of perſeverance, than hath hitherto been manifeſted, will be the unavoidable reſult. What meaſures may be proper to be adopted, circumſtances, with which every future hour will be pregnant, muſt determine. I will not preſume, even in idea, to anticipate, what may be thought expedient by the concentrated wiſdom of an enlightened people.

I am, however, of opinion, that if ſuch combined aſſemblies ſhould, in ſolemn council, declare, that the preſent houſe of commons was diſſolved, ſuch declaration would be truly conſtitutional; and that the requiſite

quiſite power would not be wanting to give validity to the decree.

I am alſo of opinion, that whatever regulations, reſpecting the mode of electing repreſentatives, and the forms of convoking future parliaments in this kingdom, might be agreed upon in ſuch convention, and ſhould afterwards be aſſented to by the nobles and the king, ought to be regarded as conſtitutional ordinances of the ſovereign power, until they are repealed by a ſimilar authority; and that the acts of every future parliament, convoked in conformity to the regulations thus eſtabliſhed, would have all the authority of law.*

According

* The celebrated Junius, in a letter to Mr. Wilkes, (vol. ii. p. 353.) expreſſes his doubts, whether the disfranchiſing the boroughs, could, "de jure," be effected by an act of the legiſlature, upon the general ground of improving the conſtitution. He demands, by what kind of reaſoning it can be proved, that there is a power veſted in the repreſentative, to deſtroy its immediate conſtituent?

The principles advanced, and, I truſt, eſtabliſhed, in this tract, will afford a ſatisfactory ſolution of this difficulty. They will, I hope, enable every reader to diſcern, that thoſe important and neceſſary regulations, which the preſent houſe of commons may have neither

the

According to this idea, no unconſtitutional coercion would be exerted againſt the remaining branches of the legiſlature ;* each would poſſeſs its proper independency, and freedom from external conſtraint ; but would perhaps perceive it to be prudent to comply with the temperate claims, and wiſhes of the commons. No other expedient would be neceſſary than the withholding of the ſupplies.

Thus might, at length, be obtained the bleſſing of an equal, annual, and univerſal repreſentation of the commons : the only effectual

the power, nor the diſpoſition to enact, can, beyond all controverſy, be eſtabliſhed, by the paramount authority of an equal and adequate repreſentative, elected by the ſuffrages of all the commons of England, for the very purpoſe in queſtion.

* It may reaſonably be preſumed, that the propoſed meaſures would be ſupported by the general concurrence of the hereditary nobility of this kingdom ; as every diminution of the preſent enormous influence of the crown, tends to reſtore, to that illuſtrious order of our fellow citizens, its proper dignity and conſtitutional importance.

effectual remedy for the increaſing diſorders of our diſtempered ſtate.*

Thus,

* It lies not within the powers of my feeble pen, to deſcribe, in adequate language, the various good effects, that, in all probability, would be derived from this ſource. One particularly ſtrikes me at this moment, which has not hitherto been ſufficiently conſidered; and, as its object is improvement in virtue, I hope the friends of virtue will attend to it.

As matters are circumſtanced at preſent, the number of perſons is comparatively ſmall, who can reaſonably expect to obtain a ſeat in that aſſembly, which, if formed according to the ſpirit of our conſtitution, would be one of the moſt reſpectable aſſemblies upon earth. But, were the duration of parliaments abridged; the election of members leſs open to undue influence; and a plan of rotation and equal repreſentation eſtabliſhed, many youths of ſpirit and ability, animated by the proſpect of the flattering diſtinction, to which the free unbiaſſed voice of their fellow citizens might raiſe them, would learn to diſdain each meaner gratification, and feel within them ſentiments, riſing reſponſive to the voice of virtue, and of that honeſt fame, which, in the language of the poet, "Carmine gratior, aurem occupat humanam."

I truſt there is more than one illuſtrious ſenator, who fully can comprehend my meaning, and whoſe future rectitude of conduct will verify my words.

What the incomparable Beccaria ſays of an enſlaved people in general, holds true alſo with reſpect to thoſe, who find themſelves excluded from bearing a part in framing the laws, and directing the public counſels of their

Thus, the fabric of government, reared by our anceſtors, at the expenſe of ſo much labour and blood, would appear in finiſhed beauty; and the popular pillar of the conſtitution, thus ſet upon its proper baſis, would give ſecurity and permanency to the whole.*

their country. "Gliu omini ſchiavi ſono più voluttuoſi, più libertini, più crudeli degli uomini liberi. Queſti meditano ſulle ſcienze, meditano ſugl'intereſſi della Nazione, veggono grandi oggetti, e gl'imitano; ma quegli contenti del giorno preſente cercano frà lo ſtrepito del libertinaggio una diſtrazione dall'annientamento, in cui ſi veggono."

Beccaria dei Delitti e delle Pene, p. 190.

* The idea of an equal and adequate repreſentation was, ſeveral years ago, propoſed, and ably ſupported, in the houſe of commons, by that intelligent and inflexible aſſertor of engliſh liberties, Mr. Wilkes. And, in the beginning of June 1780, the duke of Richmond, to his immortal honour, propoſed a bill for the eſtabliſhment of an equal repreſentation of the commons in annual parliaments, and the reſtitution of the right of ſuffrage to thoſe numerous claſſes of our fellow citizens, who, at various times, and on various pretences, have been deprived of this their beſt inheritance, and moſt effectual ſecurity againſt the reſtleſs machinations of deſpotic power.

Were the meaſure now adopted, a fœderal union with

I have much to urge in confirmation of my opinion; I am aware of objections; and I am not unprepared to reply to them. But I mean

with the american ſtates, productive of the greateſt commercial, as well as other political advantages, would probably take place; and this, perhaps, at no very diſtant period. Amidſt the preſent diſorders of our diſtempered ſtate, they may poſſibly eſteem it dangerous to be connected with a nation, ſo nearly allied to perdition.

The arts, that have been uſed to inflame the minds of the people of England, againſt their brethren on the other ſide of the Atlantic, have hitherto proved but too ſucceſsful. I truſt, however, they now begin to fail; and that a temper, more becoming the ancient generoſity and humanity of our nation, and more congenial to the ſpirit of the religion we profeſs, will actuate our counſels. The great, the good Dr. Price has ſo ably touched this ſubject, that it would be preſumption in me to add any further reflections of my own. To his ſound and catholic doctrine, I ſubſcribe with heart and hand.

The principal ideas, contained in the plan now propoſed, have long been preſent to the mind of the writer. Strongly impreſſed with the perſuaſion, that an engliſh houſe of commons, in order to its anſwering, in any degree, the purpoſes of its inſtitution, ought to be a real repreſentation of the people, he ſuggeſted to ſir George Saville his ſentiments, reſpecting the neceſſity and the practicability of a reformation, in the ſpring of the year 1776; communicating what is now made public, to that excellent citizen, in two private letters, under the ſignature of "Salus publica," originally annexed to this addreſs.

mean not to treſpaſs any further on your patience. I ſubmit this general ſketch of my preſent ſentiments, with deference, to a ſet of gentlemen, who, I truſt, underſtand the rights of their fellow citizens, and have already manifeſted a becoming ſpirit in their ſupport.

The leading principles of my idea may be recapitulated in the following words.

Alarmed, when I recollect the fate of former remonſtrances in favour of the injured rights of election;* I would ſuggeſt to my fellow citizens, that, although petitions from a majority of the counties, when acting ſingle or unconnected, might be rejected, greater reſpect would be paid to the remonſtrance of the ſame counties combined. As the voice of ſuch majority would, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be the voice of the commons of this country.

I would alſo impreſs my countrymen with a perſuaſion, that if they wiſh to effect their political ſalvation, it will be neceſſary for them ſteadily to keep in view ſome one conſtitutional

* Ita dum ſinguli pugnant, univerſi vincuntur. Tacit. Agric.

ſtitutional point, clear, diſtinct, and comprehenſive in its nature; expreſſed in terms, adapted to the underſtandings of all orders of men; ſuch as the intelligent and the virtuous of all parties will approve; and which, if attained, will not only render us an happy and an united people, but enſure the enjoyment of every national advantage to our lateſt poſterity.*

Meaſures

* The ſingle meaſure, which, in my apprehenſion, would correſpond, in every particular, to the characteriſtics above recited, is the eſtabliſhment of a commons' houſe of parliament, in exact conformity to the primæval principles of the conſtitution of this country.† Unleſs the independency of this diviſion of the legiſlature be maintained, its exiſtence can be but of little conſequence to the people. It is ſurely a reaſonable wiſh, and it ought to be the wiſh of every engliſhman, that the commons of this country may have their intereſts and inclinations conſulted, and attended to, IN THEIR OWN HOUSE. In ſuch circumſtances, it would never be

† It is a ſatisfaction to me to reflect, that I am ſupported, with reſpect to the principal doctrines avowed in the preceding pages, by the following very reſpectable authorities.

" By the common law, all freemen of England had a voice in the election of theſe knights, within the counties

Meaſures of extenſive utility are generally plain and ſimple, and immediately approve themſelves to the general ſenſe of mankind; with reſpect to ſuch, therefore, unanimity may be expected.

be in the power of an abandoned adminiſtration, with its dependent tribes of placemen, penſioners and contractors, to riot unreſtrained in the public plunder; ſacrificing, with unbounding prodigality, at the ſhrine of deſpotiſm, the reſources of the preſent generation, and the juſt inheritance of millions yet unborn; while diſcontent, diſtreſs, and diſgrace prevail, in every part of this once glorious, happy and extenſive empire: or, to ſum up, in a few words, what would require many volumes in the detail, it would follow as a conſequence in immediate connection, that the public would for ever be ſecured, againſt the treachery and inſults OF ITS OWN SERVANTS.

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counties where they dwelt; but now, by theſe ſtatutes of 8th Hen. vi. and 10th Hen. vi. they are reſtrained to ſuch as have 40s. freehold per annum within the county."

Dalton's Sheriff, p. 334.

Weſtminſter committee, March 20, 1780.

Reſolved, "That annual parliaments are the undoubted right of the people of England, and that the act which prolonged their duration was ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and a violation, on the part of the repreſentatives,

It is alſo to be conſidered, that the ſame legal exertion of ſpirit, which, under the guidance of wiſdom and moderation, would eſtabliſh one point of comparatively ſmall conſequence, would ſecure to us the poſſeſſion

ſentatives, of the ſacred truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents.

Reſolved, "That the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of this country is inadequate to the object, and a departure from the firſt principles of the conſtitution."

At a general meeting of the city of Weſtminſter, April 6, 1780.

Reſolved, "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the people of England have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeaſible right to an annual election of their repreſentatives, as well as to an adequate and equal repreſentation, founded upon ſtronger grounds than that of any act or acts of parliament, and that the attainment of theſe conſtitutional important objects, is the moſt effectual expedient for reſtoring and ſecuring the independence of parliament."

Council-chamber, Guildhall, April 7, 1780.

"The noble and manly proof which your lordſhip has given, in your letter to the county of Wilts, of your decided concurrence in the undoubted right of the people to ſhort parliaments, and the neceſſity of a more equal repreſentation, cannot but increaſe our regard, eſteem, and confidence; and your lordſhip, in your further

ſion of the moſt important, beyond the influence of time and chance.

That the friends of liberty, and of their country, ſhould communicate with each other, and, in all their reſolutions, ſhould look

ther proſecution of thoſe great conſtitutional objects, may depend on the moſt firm and determined ſupport from the city of London."—Extract of a letter from the common-council of the city of London to the earl of Shelburne.

Weſtminſter committee, June 13, 1780.

Reſolved, "That the thanks of this committee be given to the duke of Richmond, for his late motion in favour of an annual, equal, and univerſal repreſentation of the commons; a meaſure, which is founded on the broad baſis of conſtitutional liberty, and the common rights of mankind; and would, in the opinion of this committee, be immediately productive of that parliamentary freedom and independency, which it is the purpoſe of our aſſociation to promote."

Surry committee, Nov. 11, and Weſtminſter committee, Nov. 17, 1780.

Reſolved, "That the voice of the commons of England is no leſs neceſſary for every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the ſovereign or the lords; and that, therefore, the people claim it, as their juſt and inherent privilege, to correct the abuſes of repreſentation, whenever ſuch abuſes ſhall have ſo increaſed, as to rob them of their conſtitutional ſhare in their own government."

At

look forward to futurity; appear to me to be maxims, ſtrongly ſuggeſted by the complexion of the times.

I have only to add, that, when the times of diſtreſs, long predicted, ſhall arrive, the requiſite temper and prudence may be wanting for the conception of ſuch ſchemes, as may be neceſſary for the ſalvation of our country. But a plan may be propoſed, may be deliberated upon, and in part aſſented to, in that hour of tranquility which precedes the ſtorm.

At a full meeting of the grand jury, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Galway, March 31, 1782.

Reſolved, "That when we daily ſee the mandate of the miniſter ſuperſede all conviction in debate; when placed and penſioned members of parliament notoriouſly ſupport in public, meaſures, which they condemn in private; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and government has exemplified in recent inſtances of diſtinguiſhed public characters, that to vote according to conſcience, amounts to a diſqualification to hold any office in the ſervice of our country, it is time for the people to look to themſelves, and in great national queſtions to aſſert their right to control thoſe, who owe their political exiſtence to their breath, and may be annihilated by their diſpleaſure.

A

LETTER

TO

SIR ROBERT BERNARD, BART.
CHAIRMAN OF THE
HUNTINGDONSHIRE COMMITTEE.

Injuſſu populi nihil ſanciri poteſt quod populum teneat.
LIV.

A general preſumption that kings (or miniſters) will govern well, is not a ſufficient ſecurity to the people.
ALGERNON SIDNEY.

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MDCCLXXXII.

A LETTER TO SIR ROBERT BERNARD, BART. CHAIRMAN OF THE HUNTINGDONSHIRE COMMITTEE.

SIR,

THE delegation being cloſed, by a reſolution of its members, upon ſaturday the twenty-firſt ult. I think it now incumbent upon me to explain the principles, upon which I conducted myſelf in the diſcharge of an office, to which the partiality of yourſelf, and the other gentlemen of the Huntingdonſhire committee, had a ſecond time appointed me.

Although I was perſuaded, that an houſe of commons, conſtituted as the preſent, would never be induced, by the ſupplications of the people, to take an active part in diminiſhing the influence of the crown, yet I thought it my duty to concur in an application to that purpoſe; perceiving it to be

be the general opinion of the delegates, that ſuch application ſhould take the lead of what, I own, has always appeared to me the moſt eligible plan of reformation: I mean that ſubſtantial reform in the repreſentative body, which, in the higheſt degree, it concerns the people to advert to; a reform, more practicable than is generally apprehended, and which, in my underſtanding, ſuggeſts the only hope of political ſalvation.

I muſt confeſs, it was with reluctance I conſented to the idea of keeping out of ſight our delegated character in the title of the petition, lately preſented to the commons' houſe of parliament. It was with equal reluctance I conſented to wave the inſertion of ſome other circumſtances, reſpecting the finance of this country, which ſeemed to me to call more loudly for parliamentary reprehenſion, than any hitherto noticed in the petitions of the people.

It was alſo with difficulty, I perſuaded myſelf to adopt a ſtile, in my idea too humble for ſuch an occaſion, in an addreſs to the ſervants of the people; to a body of men, of whom I verily believed the majority had already,

ready, in the ſhort period that hath elapſed ſince their election, more than once manifeſted an utter diſregard to the intereſts of their conſtituents.

Urged by the force of theſe impreſſions, I declared my ſentiments with that freedom which became your delegate; but I reflected, that if unanimity was ever deſirable, it was peculiarly ſo at the outſet of our undertaking. I therefore acquieſced in the idea of petitioning as a freeholder of your county, and conceded to the general wiſh of abiding by a form, which, it was urged, had already received the ſanction of a very conſiderable part of the community.

It was with heartfelt pleaſure that I was witneſs to the well-informed zeal, with which the worthy deputies of Yorkſhire opened and ſupported the plan of parliamentary reformation, announced in the addreſs of their committee, and that ſpirit of patriotiſm, with which their idea was generally adopted by the aſſembly.

To the firſt part of that plan, which propoſed the addition of at leaſt one hundred members, to be choſen in due proportion

in

in the ſeveral counties of this kingdom, I gave my concurrence; being inclined to hope, that ſuch an inſtitution, which had already been approved by many of the aſſociated counties, might be ſalutary in its conſequences; and not inconſiſtent with thoſe more enlarged ſchemes of reformation, which I truſt the ſpirit and good ſenſe of the engliſh nation will hereafter carry into effect. *

But, in order that my ſubſequent conduct may appear in its proper point of view, I requeſt the indulgent attention of the committee to the following conſiderations:

It ſeemed to be the general opinion of the delegates, that parliamentary freedom and independence might be reſtored by an improved arrangement of the preſent electors of this kingdom. I did not, therefore, controvert the idea in this ſtage of the buſineſs; I concurred with them in practice as far as they went; but my theory led me to more extenſive concluſions.

I con-

[* The author afterwards altered his opinion on this propoſal; as may be ſeen in his firſt "Letter to the volunteers of Ireland," in the following part of this volume.]

I conſidered that the perſons, who at preſent exerciſe the power of election, in the name of the people of England, might be diſtributed into three claſſes.*

In the firſt claſs would be contained thoſe inhabitants of this kingdom, who poſſeſs freeholds to the amount of forty ſhillings a year and upwards, ſuppoſed to be in number 130,000, and electing ninety-two members to ſerve for fifty-two counties.

The ſecond claſs would comprehend 43,000 citizens, freemen, and others, who elect fifty-two members for twenty-three cities and two univerſities.

In the third or laſt claſs would be found 41,000 electors, who chooſe 369 members for 192 towns and boroughs.

It was propoſed by the deputies of Yorkſhire, that the members elected by the 130,000 freeholders ſhould amount at the leaſt to 192.

As a further barrier againſt undue influence, I propoſed that one hundred ſhould be ſubtracted

* Report of the Weſtminſter ſub-committee, dated March 19, 1780.

ſubtracted from the 369 burgeſſes, choſen at preſent by the 41,000 electors, in order that the ſum total of the members elected by the preſent freeholders, citizens, freemen, burgeſſes, and other electors of England, might remain the ſame as before.

The motion was not ſupported; the reaſons that induced me to propoſe this alteration are as follows:

In the firſt place, it appeared to me, that the houſe of commons is already ſufficiently numerous for all the purpoſes of its inſtitution. In the happieſt periods of our hiſtory its number was far inferior to what it is at preſent: and it has been ably obſerved, that with the increaſe of its members would, in all probability, be increaſed the national depravity, and the expenſe of the public; * unleſs, at the ſame time, ſuch meaſures were embraced, as, by ſubjecting the repreſentative

* The reſolution, actually aſſented to by the delegation, propoſes that the additional members ſhould be choſen in due proportion, in the ſeveral cities as well as counties of the kingdom; a proviſion, which rather ſtrengthens than impairs the argument in favour of a diminution of the borough members.

tive to the control of the conſtituent, would neceſſarily place him beyond the power of corruption.

I ſecondly reflected, that the perſons, who elect the 369 members to ſerve for the towns and boroughs of the kingdom, are the moſt dependent part of the nation; and are acknowledged to be, in every reſpect, the leaſt worthy of being intruſted with the exerciſe of ſo important a power as they at preſent enjoy, to the great injury of the landed and commercial intereſts of this country.

In the laſt place, I conſidered, that the popular ſentiment ſeemed more favourable to the idea of diminiſhing the number of the borough members, than to the propoſed augmentation in the counties. And although it was alledged, that in caſe this idea were adopted, we ſhould have the intereſt of the proprietors of boroughs to contend with, it appeared to me ſuch intereſt might be purchaſed, in many inſtances, by a proper compenſation; and that even in caſe ſome reluctance ſhould be manifeſted by any of the parties concerned, ſuch perſons would

probably not continue to oppoſe the general wiſh, when they reflected, that the power they enjoyed was utterly inconſiſtent with the people's undoubted right to an equal repreſentation, whenever they might think proper to aſſert it.

In propoſing this improvement, I proceeded upon the idea, adopted by my brethren of the delegation. But, in fact, I eſteem all propoſitions for an improved arrangement of the preſent voters of this kingdom, in no further degree worthy of the attention of the public, than as they are preparatory ſteps to that complete reformation, which I am now more than ever perſuaded might be effected by the peaceful efforts of the people, acting by their committees, and uniting in a general aſſociation to ſupport their reſolves.

I am, as will afterwards more fully appear, decidedly of opinion, that an engliſh houſe of commons ſhould be a repreſentation of perſons, not of property; of men, not of things; and that there is no neceſſity for the delegation of the important right of election to any portion of the community, intermediate

intermediate between the repreſentative and the great collective body of the people. But ſuppoſing theſe points were to be conceded, and ſuppoſing the ſum total of the ſtanding electors of this kingdom, who are at preſent allowed to exerciſe this power in derogation of the right of more than a million of their fellow-citizens, now excluded from their franchiſe, were to remain as at this day, it may reaſonably be demanded, whether the 130,000 freeholders, who now enjoy the privilege of electing ninety-two members, are the perſons, whom the landed intereſt would depute for this important purpoſe? Whether there be not a large proportion of them, who, notwithſtanding their legal qualification, cannot claim, from their ſtation in life, this great pre-eminence: and whether many copyholders are not rejected in the preſent ſyſtem, whoſe independent circumſtances would render them fitter objects of this truſt?

With reſpect to the 84,000 citizens, burgeſſes, and other inhabitants of England, who elect the remaining 421 members, can we ſeriouſly maintain, that they properly re-

preſent the various branches of the commercial intereſt of this country? And can it be imagined, that the liberties and properties of more than five millions of people can be ſafe, when intruſted in the hands of repreſentatives, of whom it has been demonſtrated the majority may be returned by a number of electors leſs than 6000, conſiſting, in general, of the moſt dependent and moſt venal part of the community? *

I will diſmiſs the ſubject of repreſentation for the preſent, and proceed to the next object of parliamentary reformation propoſed by the Yorkſhire committee, viz. the ſhortening the duration of parliaments to a period not exceeding three years.

I had the pleaſure of concurring with the delegates in their firſt reſolution reſpecting this ſubject. The propriety of the meaſure was ably debated, and the general ſentiment decidedly in its favour. The reſolution, as moved by ſir James Norcliff, was as follows:

"RESOLVED,

* See Burgh's "Political diſquiſitions," vol. i. c. 4. and Mr. Wilkes's admirable ſpeech in favour of a more equal repreſentation of the people, March 21, 1776, in a collection of his ſpeeches, in octavo, publiſhed 1786, p. 55.

" RESOLVED,

" That the bill, enacting the ſeptennial duration of parliaments, was a violation of the rights of the people, by which the conſtitutional connection between the conſtituent body and the repreſentative has been impaired, and the parliament expoſed to great and ſyſtematic corruption."

This reſolution paſſed, with the following amendments: after the words, " ſeptennial duration of parliaments," was inſerted, " however expedient it might have been rendered by the circumſtances of the times," and inſtead of " ſyſtematic corruption," was ſubſtituted " unconſtitutional influence." I do not conceive theſe alterations to have been real improvements of this motion.

I have always imagined the triennial bill to be equally a violation of the conſtitution with the ſeptennial. I conceive, alſo, that the proper buſineſs of a repreſentative, as indeed is evident from the tenor of the ancient writs, is to act as an agent for his conſtituents in the great aſſembly of the nation, and, in their name, to aſſent to ſuch

meaſures, as he apprehends they would approve. I would aſk, whether the ſenſe of the people can with propriety be ſuppoſed to be expreſſed in that aſſembly, by perſons delegated, as it might happen, nearly three years before the actual iſſuing of the yearly proclamation for its convention?

Urged by the force of theſe reflections, I made the following motion, which, for want of being ſupported, occaſioned no debate:

"RESOLVED,

"That the people of England have an undoubted right to an annual election of members to ſerve in the commons' houſe of parliament; and that the act of the ſixth of William the third, which afforded the firſt legal ſanction to the duration of parliaments beyond a ſingle ſeſſion, was ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and a violation, on the part of the repreſentatives, of the ſacred truſt repoſed in them by their conſtituents."

It was with pain I differed from the Yorkſhire gentlemen, and the majority of the deputation

deputation in the ſubſequent reſolution, which is now ſubjoined:

" RESOLVED,

" That when by the peaceful and legal efforts of the people, a more frugal management of the public purſe, and a more adequate repreſentation in parliament ſhall have been obtained, the repeal of the ſeptennial bill would form a ſtrong barrier againſt the inroads of parliamentary corruption, and the alarming influence of the crown."

I will not trouble the committee with a recital of the various reaſons, which induced me to oppoſe the paſſing of this reſolution. They were very different, I believe, from thoſe which influenced the two other deputations, who concurred with me on this occaſion. It may be ſufficient for the preſent, to obſerve, that with ſome formality I declared, that I objected to this motion, " becauſe it poſtpones the redreſs of an acknowledged violation of the conſtitution, until that more frugal management of the public purſe ſhall have been obtained, which I am perſuaded the controling power of a commons'

mons' houſe of parliament, elected in conformity to ancient uſage, ſolely can effect.

Previouſly to my ſtatement of the laſt motion I made in the aſſembly of delegates, I would beg leave to ſubmit to you the following conſiderations, in the form of queries. If they ſhould not have ſo much weight with the committee as they had with me, they may yet convince the gentlemen who compoſe it, that I did not act without reflection, and that if my conduct was erroneous, my intentions were nevertheleſs ſincere.

1. Is it practicable to aſſign to the preſent 214,000 electors of England any ſuch new arrangement, as ſhall render it poſſible for them to return a free and independent commons' houſe of parliament?

2. Does not the mode of electing two members for each county of this kingdom, however varying in extent and population, beſides the obvious inequality it introduces into the repreſentation, alſo give riſe, eſpecially in the larger counties, to that riot, confuſion, and undue influence, which might effectually be removed, by a new allotment, into diſtricts, each containing, as much as

may

may be, the ſame number of inhabitants, and electing one member?

3. Do not the petitions to parliament, reſpecting conteſted elections in boroughs, almoſt intirely ariſe from the various qualifications annexed to the right of voting? and, therefore, would not theſe conteſts, which form one of the ſtrongeſt objections to the revival of the ancient conſtitutional parliaments of a ſingle ſeſſion, be almoſt unknown, if the legal age of the citizen were conſidered as the only qualification of the voter?

4. Is there any abſolute neceſſity for having recourſe to the houſe of commons in order to re-eſtabliſh the inhabitants of this country in their undoubted right to an equal, annual, and univerſal repreſentation of themſelves in parliament? and would not an act of delegates, freely choſen by the people, aſſented to by the king and hereditary nobility, be ſufficient for this purpoſe? *

5. Is

* In my "Addreſs to the freeholders of Middleſex," (p. 472—483 of this volume,) this queſtion is treated more diffuſely. I am ſatisfied the doctrine, maintained in that tract, is truly conſtitutional, and might be reduced to practice, by the peaceable efforts of the people.

5. Is it not the duty of all men, who wiſh well to their country, and have influence in the community, to ſtate the ſubſtantial rights of the people, and to uſe ſuch arguments as may induce them, by every legal and conſtitutional method, to aſſert them? *

6. Is it not much more likely that the commonalty of England, when national diſtreſs ſhall have awakened them to a ſenſe of their own miſconduct, would embrace a mode of reformation, which actually reinſtates them in the poſſeſſion of an important franchiſe, than that they ſhould intereſt themſelves in the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of

† If that body of our fellow citizens, who, for many years, have oppoſed, in the commons' houſe of parliament, the ruinous meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration, were ſolemnly to ſecede from an aſſembly, in which it is impoſſible for argument, aided by the ſublimeſt eloquence, to be of any avail: and, aſſembling the counties, would explain the grounds of their ſeceſſion, and declare their perſuaſion, that the laſt hope of England now reſts on the conſtitutional exertions of the collective body of the people, they would certainly diſcharge the duty they owe to their conſtituents, and, probably, preſerve their country from impending deſtruction.

of meaſures, of which it requires a long train of circuitous reaſoning to demonſtrate to them the uſe?

The motion, grounded on the doctrine contained in the preceding queries, the greateſt part of which I, with pleaſure, acknowledge I have been led to adopt, in conſequence of the incomparable publications of major Cartwright, was as follows:

" Whereas, after ſolemn argument, and the moſt diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion, it appears to this aſſembly, that the right of election for members to ſerve in the commons' houſe of parliament (which at preſent, to the great detriment of the nation, is unwarrantably exerciſed by an inconſiderable portion of the community, in many reſpects incompetent to the diſcharge of ſo important a truſt) doth in truth conſtitutionally appertain to, and might conveniently be exerciſed by every male inhabitant of the kingdom, arrived at the legal age of diſcretion. And whereas the people in their collective capacity (by reaſon that the voice of the commonalty of England is no leſs neceſſary to every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the king

or

er the lords) have a juſt and inherent right to correct the abuſes of parliamentary repreſentation, whenever ſuch abuſes ſhall have ſo increaſed, as to rob them of their conſtitutional ſhare in their own government;

" RESOLVED,

" That it be recommended to the committees of correſpondence, eſtabliſhed in this kingdom, to carry into immediate effect the proper meaſures, for collecting the free and unbiaſſed ſenſe of the inhabitants of the ſeveral counties, cities, and boroughs of England, reſpecting the preſent unconſtitutional infringements of their election franchiſes, and the means that ſhould be employed for their recovery."

I prefaced this motion with a defence of the principles upon which it was founded. I entered largely into the practicability and expediency of the meaſure; and urged, that, as no alterations ought to be attempted, which did not meet with the full concurrence of the people, it was neceſſary to adopt

the

the proper means for collecting the ſenſe of the people; but this motion alſo, not being ſupported, occaſioned no debate.

A motion being then made for the immediate diſſolution of our aſſembly, I thought it my duty to oppoſe it. I wiſhed that we might continue in exiſtence until we were enabled, at leaſt, to report the fate of our petition; but I was unſupported in my oppoſition, and the meeting was diſſolved.

I cannot be unconſcious, that, from my own report, I ſtand expoſed to the charge of ſingularity in many parts of my conduct; I regard it as a misfortune: the gentlemen of the delegation are deſervedly reſpected in point of integrity, ability, and public ſpirit; they cannot have more ſincere and zealous admirers than myſelf. With many of them I am united in the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip; and I can truly ſay, I felt more poignant uneaſineſs, from my not being able to concur with them in ſentiment, than I ſhould have experienced of apprehenſion, had it been my lot to have ſtood ſingle amidſt an hoſt of foes.

It is poſſible, but I deliver it only as matter

ter of opinion, that ſome gentlemen in the delegation might think it prudent for us to inſiſt only on a portion of what might juſtly be demanded, for the purpoſe of conciliating the favourable attention of a powerful party to our views. But it may not be unuſeful to reflect, that we are agents for the democratical part of the conſtitution, and that it is not reaſonable to expect, that we ſhall be ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the nobility, unleſs when the common danger ſhall become extreme: in ſuch circumſtances the virtuous part of the nobility will unite with us. When that danger is at a diſtance, retaining the natural prejudices of their order, they will not be ſanguine in our cauſe: I ſay this with an exception of ſome elevated characters, whoſe generoſity of ſentiment, in ſupporting the rights of the people, is above my praiſe.

With reſpect to the commonalty at large, I am ſatisfied the preſent languor of patriotiſm did not originate with them; they were inclined in the laſt year to adopt the moſt ſpirited meaſures; but, through the want of

of concord in their leaders, they now, alas! know not in whom they can confide.

I am not an advocate for an intemperate expreſſion of zeal, nor inclined to appeal even to the conſtitutional powers of the people upon trivial occaſions, and without a proſpect of ſucceſs. But I am perſuaded, that a timely declaration of the popular ſentiment, reſpecting the long violated rights of repreſentation, would be the moſt likely method of preventing the further inroads of deſpotiſm, and the final ruin of the ſtate.*

Ever ſince I took a part in politics, I have eſteemed it my duty to avow, and to bring forward, to the utmoſt of my power, thoſe maxims, which I believed would promote the

* With ſuch declaration might, with propriety, be combined a remonſtrance againſt the continuance of the american war, and a diſavowal of the principles and practices, which gave occaſion to its commencement. A remonſtrance of this nature, expreſſed in manly, yet reſpectful, language to the throne, though it might not bend certain of thoſe inflexible ſpirits who ſurround it, would probably diſpoſe the hearts of our american brethren to peace, and to the conceſſion of many commercial advantages in their power to grant, as a free and independent people.

the peace and proſperity of my country. In political and religious diſquiſitions, as well as in philoſophical, it is ſurely a point of prudence to encourage a free communication of ſuch hints, as, in the opinion of the propoſers, may benefit mankind. Many doctrines, now univerſally received, were, at one period, the opinions of a few private individuals, which though, for a time, oppoſed by the combinations of intereſt, an open appeal to the good ſenſe of the community, at length hath carried into effect. An unreſerved communication of ſentiments is eſſential to freedom of diſcuſſion: and that perſevering unanimity, which is the reſult of conviction, can flouriſh only where a free diſcuſſion hath previouſly prevailed. For theſe reaſons, I conceive that the moment, in which truth firſt ſuggeſts itſelf to the mind, is the proper ſeaſon for declaring it.

With regard to the inſtance before us, the matter may be brought to this ſhort iſſue; whether it may be more expedient to withhold a doctrine conducive to the intereſts of the people; to ſuſpend our exertions, in a cauſe demonſtrably juſt; becauſe ſuch doctrine or ſuch exertions may poſſibly be offenſive

fenſive to perſons, whom we might wiſh to conciliate: or, relying on thoſe energies, which an open avowal of political truth would, moſt probably, excite in the breaſts of engliſhmen of every deſcription, intrepidly aſſert it in the face of our country, regardleſs of oppoſition from whatever quarter it may ariſe. This is a queſtion which futurity may probably decide.* My own ſenti-

 ments

* It has, of late years, been too much the cuſtom, with men of every deſcription, to expreſs an unfavourable opinion of the general diſpoſition of the engliſh people. They have been repeatedly repreſented as ſtrangers to principle in virtue and religion, and totally degenerate with regard to the love of liberty and public ſpirit.

I can by no means aſſent to a poſition, which exhibits my fellow-citizens in ſo unpleaſing a point of view. I am perſuaded that the contrary is a fact. I am perſuaded, that there does not only exiſt ſufficient virtue in this country, to preſerve what is left of the forms of the conſtitution, but that there alſo remains ſuch a portion of public ſpirit, as, under proper direction, would reſtore that conſtitution to its primæval integrity and ſplendor.

When the brave and injured Keppel endured that memorable conflict, to which the arts of baſe detraction had expoſed him, with a firmneſs and compoſure, which conſcious innocence could alone afford. What were the ſentiments, that occupied the minds of the attentive audience

ments are ſufficiently apparent; and, I truſt, this avowal of them will be received with candour by yourſelf and the other gentlemen of the committee, to whom, with the utmoſt reſpect and moſt cordial good wiſhes, they are addreſſed by their

devoted humble ſervant,

JOHN JEBB.

Craven ſtreet, May 13, 1781.

audience at that important hour? Reſpect for injured merit, ſtrong reſentment, and anxious expectation, by turns, maintained the intire poſſeſſion of their ſouls. And at the moment of his acquittal, when ſurrounded by his fellow-citizens, he obtained a triumph, more truly honourable, more truly glorious, than England yet had witneſſed, did not a ſpirit, manly and exalted as his own, inform each engliſh breaſt?

Nor were theſe ſentiments of more than roman virtue, confined to the ſpectators of this affecting ſcene: they diffuſed themſelves with reſiſtleſs energy to the remoteſt quarters of the iſland; and, while the meaneſt of the multitude felt thoſe generous emotions, which public virtue only can inſpire, "decus et tutamen," the proper motto of nobility, appeared to be inſcribed in ſplendid characters on each illuſtrious brow.

Is it poſſible that my fellow-citizens, who intereſted themſelves ſo warmly in the cauſe of injured virtue, ſhould remain utterly inſenſible, when their country calls? Can a nation, thus feeling for another's honour, long continue regardleſs of its own?

LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

A PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

FIRST COLLECTED
AND PUBLISHED TOGETHER
MDCCLXXXIV.

LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO

THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND.

LETTER I.

TO LIEUT. COL. SHARMAN, &c.

SIR,

I AM informed by Mr. Joy, in a letter dated the firſt inſtant, that the committee, of which you are chairman, have done me the honour to deſire, that I would communicate to you my ſentiments, reſpecting a parliamentary reform.

Ever ſince the commencement of the late important movements in your kingdom, I have conceived the reformation of your houſe of commons, as a meaſure, eſſentially neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of the liberties of Ireland upon a permanent foundation.

You have wiſely reſerved the conſideration of this work to the preſent moment. If it be conducted with the ſame manly and de-

termined ſpirit, which has characterized your former exertions, there is no doubt, but that, under the providence of heaven, you will ſecure to yourſelves and your poſterity, a portion of national felicity, of domeſtic peace, of external honour, far tranſcending what has hitherto been exhibited or enjoyed in any age or clime.

The matter before you may be conſidered with reſpect to the point of expediency, and the point of right.

With reſpect to the latter, my opinion is decided. By the conſtitution, a certain portion of the legiſlative power is reſerved to the commons; who, from the circumſtance of their numbers, are obliged to exerciſe this important function by delegation.

The power of delegation appears to me to be as extenſive, as the obligation of bearing arms for the common defence. I have long conſidered every reſtriction of the right of ſuffrage, as an infringement of the law of nature, as well as ſubverſive of the conſtitution of my country.

I am of opinion, alſo, that political truth and political expediency, are terms ſynonimous;

mous; and, therefore, am diſpoſed to think, that the only advice I can, with propriety, offer to a body of men, who have conducted themſelves with ſo much moderation, magnanimity, and public ſpirit, is, "GO ON, with full reliance upon the juſtice of your cauſe; inveſtigate the rights of freemen; aſſert them; eſtabliſh them in their full extent. I cannot believe that the accompliſhment of any meaſure, founded in political truth, can be impoſſible to ſuch exalted virtue."

However, as many expedients have been ſuggeſted upon the idea, that, on account of prejudices, what is ſtrictly right cannot be put in practice, it may not be improper to inquire, how far theſe expedients are likely to anſwer the intended purpoſe. It has been conceived, that the addition of a certain number of county members would aſſiſt in balancing the corrupt repreſentation of the boroughs; a meaſure, in my idea, as inexpedient as it is partial and unjuſt.

Firſt; becauſe, if it fail in effectually over-balancing the powers of corruption, it increaſes the grievance, by enhancing the national

national expenſe; as a miniſter, in ſuch circumſtances, muſt employ a greater portion of the public treaſure in gaining a majority than before. In lord North's opinion, ſuch a meaſure would have nothing in it formidable to an adminiſtration, determined to govern by court influence. On the deciſion of the great debate on this queſtion, he was heard to declare, that the friends of the propoſed reform would have been worſted, had the hundred knights been preſent; the majority that day far exceeding that number.

Secondly; the propoſed addition would render the houſe of commons too numerous. In Ireland, ſuch an increaſe of the county members as would be neceſſary to form an effectual balance to the borough intereſt, would be greater, in proportion, than in England.

Thirdly; the ſeats for counties would be diſpoſed of abſolutely at the pleaſure of a few of the principal landholders, while the great body of the freeholders would enjoy leſs of the elective power than they do at preſent.

Laſtly; the expenſes of conteſted elections,

tions, eſpecially in the larger counties, would be moſt enormouſly increaſed.

It has alſo been ſuggeſted, that it would be expedient to disfranchiſe ſome of the boroughs in thoſe counties, where they are moſt numerous, eſpecially ſuch whoſe conſtitution is moſt exceptionable; and to make a compenſation to the preſent proprietors at the public expenſe. Nothing can be urged, in my idea, againſt this meaſure. So far as it goes, it is both equitable and expedient. The transferring from ſuch boroughs the right of election to townſhips, or diſtricts, which, from the greater number of inhabitants, and other circumſtances, appear more likely to preſerve their independence, would be an improvement upon this idea.

The generous principles you have adopted reſpecting roman catholics, have been attended with effects, very different from what were expected by perſons of leſs enlarged ſentiments. Yet, perhaps, there are few, who would not be alarmed at the idea of conceding to them the power of electing repreſentatives of their own perſuaſion. Many might think it imprudent to allow them the exerciſe

exercise of the right of suffrage, were even their choice restricted to the persons of protestants. Local difficulties must be best known to persons on the spot. I can only reason from general principles. If men are allowed to hold property, to possess rights, to bear arms; I cannot see any substantial reason why they should not also be allowed a share in the appointment of those who make the laws. By such generous confidence, I should conceive, their prejudices would be softened, and their attachment to the public, of which they would then become a component part, increased. At any rate, so far as regards protestants, the right of suffrage may, with great propriety, be extended far beyond its present limits.

Sessional parliaments (i. e. parliaments of a single session) are the only parliaments that can be esteemed constitutional: the nearer you approach to right and ancient usage, the nearer you will approach to the point of true political expedience.

With respect to the mode of effecting the reform in question, I own, I feel strong objections to the idea of applying to the house of

of commons by petition. If the preſent mode of delegation anſwers not the purpoſe of its inſtitution, it is the proper office of the perſons immediately intereſted (i. e. the conſtituent body) to form a plan for its amendment.

May I be permitted, without imputation of preſumption, to expreſs my unreſerved opinion on this momentous ſubject.

After paſſing reſolutions, expreſſive of the rights of the people to review the whole ſyſtem of delegation, and declaratory of the principles, upon which a true and proper repreſentation ought to be conſtructed, let a committee from yourſelves be appointed to draw the outline of a plan, which you ſhall judge to be effectual, the moſt extenſive and liberal that the times will bear.

Let this plan be propoſed to the houſe of commons; and, at the ſame time, let a certain period be ſpecified, in which you conceive the wiſdom of that houſe may finally complete the plan you ſhall offer to their conſideration. And, laſtly, let your preſent aſſembly be adjourned to a reaſonable time beyond the period, in which the plan may be conceived to be offered for aſſent to the

other

other branches of the legiſlature. The intervening conduct of parliament will ſuggeſt the proper meaſures to be adopted at ſuch adjourned meeting.

Petition ſeems to acknowledge a power in the houſe of commons of rejecting your ſuit. It transfers the authority from the ſenders to the ſent. It ſuppoſes, in the majority of the houſe, a dignity and independence, which the nature of the petition evidently implies they do not poſſeſs. It calls upon them to reform themſelves; which a corrupt body of men never did, nor can do.

Thus, with an undiſguiſed heart, I have unfolded my idea upon this important queſtion. May conſiſtency, public ſpirit, and magnanimity, with true wiſdom, continue to preſide in your aſſemblies! Though abſent in perſon, yet in ſpirit, and moſt fervent wiſhes for your ſucceſs, I ſhall be preſent with you.

I remain, with great reſpect,
for the committee and yourſelf,
your obedient ſervant,
JOHN JEBB.

Aug. 13, 1783.

LETTER II.

SIR,

IN the letter which I yeſterday did myſelf the honour of addreſſing to you, I ſtated, in very general terms, my ideas reſpecting a reform in your repreſentation, and the means of effecting it. In this, I propoſe to ſubmit to your conſideration ſome unconnected obſervations, in explanation, or confirmation, of the opinions I have already advanced; truſting that your reſpectable committee will receive with candour, what I ſhall offer with integrity of purpoſe.

I am very ſenſible that you have difficulties to ſtruggle with peculiar to your country; others, which are common to both countries; but none, thank heaven, which can be eſteemed unſurmountable, when we reflect upon the paſt.

The plan of univerſal repreſentation, by a new arrangement into diſtricts, each diſtrict electing one member, is, I think, by far the moſt practicable plan that can be propoſed. The addreſs of the delegates of the Ulſter regiment

regiment aſſerts, that the right of being governed only by laws of his own making, is the birth-right of man; a propoſition equally true, whether the terms of it be applied to nations, or to the individuals of which they are compoſed.

Conteſted elections generally ariſe from diſputes concerning qualifications; which can never be ſtated in ſo definite a manner, when any degree of property is eſtabliſhed as a requiſite, as not to miniſter matter for innumerable perjuries and endleſs altercations.

It is impoſſible to conceive that voters, in general, will put themſelves to the expenſe and trouble of travelling from one ſide of an extenſive county to the other, to give their ſuffrages, without ſome compenſation. Laws to prevent bribery or corruption, in ſuch circumſtances, have always hitherto been evaded, and thus have increaſed the evils they were intended to remedy. Laws enacted to prevent the candidate from bearing the expenſes of an elector, inhabiting the extremity of Yorkſhire, to the place of election, will either be eluded, or operate as a

disfranchiſement. The utmoſt exertion of human intellect cannot invent a method of taking the ſuffrages of an extenſive county, which will not be liable to ſtrong objections. If you increaſe the number of county members, the difficulties are increaſed: a diviſion of the larger counties into diſtricts, appears, therefore, neceſſary, whatever be the plan of reform you ſhall think proper to adopt, with reſpect to the qualification of the voters.

If a leſs extenſive plan than what has been hinted be adopted, it will be prudent to leave the matter open for poſterity to improve upon it, if they judge proper. We know not what is really impracticable before trial; we have ſeen what Ireland has effected in leſs than four years. The objections to the plan of the duke of Richmond and major Cartwright, and the apprehenſions, which many entertain of danger, from admitting roman catholics to the intire rights of citizenſhip, may appear ſcarcely worthy of a moment's conſideration at no very diſtant period.

Unanimity is certainly very deſirable, but

there are two ſorts of unanimity: one of which conſiſts in blindly following the dictates of a few; the other, is the reſult of calm and diſpaſſionate inquiry into the real relations of things. I allow, on one ſide, that it would be imprudent to aim at eſtabliſhing more than what will meet with general concurrence: on the other, I maintain, that many preſent prejudices may naturally be expected to give way, when a fair appeal is made to the underſtandings of men, and truth is held forth to public view, by characters, who juſtly poſſeſs the confidence of the people. The generous ſentiments of the Ulſter volunteers, reſpecting religious toleration, diffuſed themſelves with rapidity inconceivable through the breaſts of millions; and, I truſt, that many of them will live to ſee their fair example followed by more than half the european world. I will only further obſerve upon this point, that unleſs enough be done to render the true intereſt of the country predominant in the houſe of commons,—nothing is done.

It appears to me, that you will lead the way in the great point of parliamentary reformation.

formation. Next to yourſelves, Scotland appears moſt in earneſt. It is, therefore, on many accounts, that I wiſh you may be able to effect your purpoſe. Your ſucceſs will greatly facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a ſimilar reform in this kingdom. I truſt, that our committees will emulate your generoſity and candour; and, by inviting and cultivating a free and open correſpondence, avail themſelves of whatever light the friends of liberty in Scotland and Ireland may be able to ſuggeſt. I have ſent incloſed two of your own addreſſes, with a reſolution of our ſociety for conſtitutional information, at the head of them. May the ſpirit they breathe, contribute towards the re-kindling of that flame of liberty, which once was wont to burn with ſo bright a luſtre in the breaſts of engliſhmen.

I have alſo taken the liberty to incloſe the report of the Weſtminſter ſub-committee, reſpecting an annual, equal, and univerſal repreſentation of the commons of England; my own addreſs to the freeholders of Middleſex, and ſome other tracts, which ſtate, with better arguments than I can urge, the

objections to the leſs extenſive plans that have been propoſed in this kingdom. Among theſe, the letter of Mr. Batley to the rev. Mr. Wyvill, reſpecting the inexpediency of adding an hundred county members, appears well worthy of peruſal.

I attended cloſely to the debates of your parliament, when Mr. Grattan and Mr. Yelverton firſt propoſed their motions in the houſe of commons. I ſaw the force of influence, and I deſpaired. The volunteer ſpirit aroſe, and Ireland was emancipated from its chains! A new parliament may contain a greater number of real friends to freedom; but an incurable vice is inherent in its conſtitution. If it be left to parliament to form a plan, the ſcheme will infallibly be defeated. The ariſtocratic intereſt, united with the regal, like a blight from the eaſt, will aſſuredly blaſt every hope of harveſt. While you retain the matter in your own hands, you cannot fail of effecting, under providence, the permanent ſalvation of your country. At the enſuing meeting, it may be agreed how far the exerciſe of the right of ſuffrage ſhould extend;

a general

a general outline of a plan may be drawn for a diviſion of the counties into diſtricts; the disfranchiſement of ſome boroughs, and the transferring the right of electing members to more populous townſhips, may be propoſed; and the moſt material regulations, reſpecting the taking of the ſuffrages of the electors, pointed out. At an adjourned meeting, you will be able to judge, how far parliament has complied with the wiſhes of the people. The reſolves and inſtructions of your conſtituents will give ſufficient weight and authority to your proceedings, at ſuch a period.

Once more requeſting your favourable indulgence, and with my heartieſt good wiſhes for the ſucceſs of a meaſure, in the event of which, the cauſe of public virtue, of civil and religious liberty, is ſo deeply intereſted,

I remain, &c.

Brighthelmſton,
14th Aug. 1783.

LETTER III.

SIR,

I RECEIVED, laſt thurſday, the favour of your letter, dated the eleventh inſtant, * and

[The following, is a copy of the letter from lieutenant-colonel Sharman, above referred to. (See " A collection of letters to the volunteers of Ireland," printed for J. Stockdale, 1783, p. 108—111.]

SIR, Liſburn, Oct. 11, 1783.

As chairman of the Ulſter committee of correſpondence, I am directed to return you our warmeſt thanks, for your very obliging and uſeful communications on the ſubject of a parliamentary reform; to aſſure you, that we entertain the moſt grateful ſenſe of your kind attention, and of the great trouble you have taken on this occaſion; and to encloſe you a copy of the reſolves of the provincial aſſembly of volunteers.

Our acknowledgments had been ſooner made, had not the multiplicity of buſineſs which devolved on this committee, both antecedent and ſubſequent to the meeting at Dungannon, very much engroſſed our time; this ſeeming neglect, we rely on your good-nature to excuſe.

The provinces of Leinſter and Connaught have already called general meetings on the ſame ſubject; Munſter had in part declared before; and, there is no doubt, will now join the reſt. You will obſerve, that in the public reſolves of Ulſter, we have confined ourſelves to ſuch general principles and objects, as we were convinced

and cordially congratulate you upon the pleaſing proſpect of ſucceſs to thoſe exer-

 tions,

convinced would ſecure unanimity, both in this and the other provinces; on the ſpecific mode of reform, the provinces might differ; different opinions might have ariſen amongſt ourſelves; our plan of reform (the outlines of which I annex) is, therefore, ſubmitted to the grand national convention; what they ſhall agree upon, the kingdom at large, I dare ſay, will acquieſce in, and ſupport with their united powers; and againſt that union reſiſtance will be vain.

In the courſe of our deliberations, the utmoſt attention was paid to the opinions and communications of all our illuſtrious and much-reſpected correſpondents; we could not, however, in every point apply them to the ſituation of this kingdom; and where we find great and good men, equally zealous in the cauſe, differ with reſpect to the mode, our only choice was to adopt that which ſeemed to us moſt applicable to the country we live in.

Our counties, towns, and pariſhes, are now taking up the ſubject, and calling public meetings to declare their acceſſion to the Dungannon reſolves, and to inſtruct their repreſentatives on the ſubject of a parliamentary reform. We earneſtly wiſh to ſee the good people of Great-Britain preſs forward in the promotion of the ſame important object, convinced that the united efforts of the ſiſter nations muſt prove irreſiſtible.

I am, with the utmoſt reſpect,

ſir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Wm. SHARMAN.

Dr. Jebb,
Parliament-ſtreet.

tions, which have been as exemplary as the object is important. A more important object, indeed, never agitated the human mind! It involves in it the cauſe of public virtue, of civil and religious liberty; and bids fair to ſecure whatever can be valuable in the ſight of nations, or of individuals, to yourſelves and your poſterity for ever.

I eſteemed myſelf highly honoured by the letter, which I received by order of your reſpectable committee, in laſt Auguſt. I eſteem myſelf much more ſo by your favourable acceptance of my communications; of which I can ſay, with truth, that they proceeded from a heart friendly to the intereſts of Ireland, and devoted to your cauſe.

I have no doubt, but that many individuals in your late convention gave up their own private opinions, from the beſt motives, in deference to what they judged moſt likely to prove the prevailing opinions of the country. You have had many difficulties to ſtruggle with; you have acted a moſt glorious part; may that good providence, which hath

hath hitherto favoured your exertions, continue to direct them, until you ſhall have accompliſhed your honourable purpoſe; until you ſhall have gratified the laudable deſire of conveying the ineſtimable bleſſings, attendant upon a well-conſtructed form of civil government, to remoteſt generations! I rejoice in the firm and manly declarations of the counties, &c. in ſupport of the reſolutions of Dungannon; they will, doubtleſs, add force irreſiſtible to thoſe reſolves. Over external influence you have already triumphed; and what internal power can oppoſe itſelf to the general voice of a people determined to be free?

In this interval, between the preſent moment and the general convention, while many queſtions lie before the public in a ſtate of indeciſion, I cannot reſtrain myſelf from offering my ſentiments upon certain points, which were more ſlightly touched upon in my former letters, than their importance required. If the opinions, to which I have been ſo long partial, be unfounded, they will be juſtly diſregarded: if they be

agreeable

agreeable to right reaſon, the diſcuſſion of them cannot be unſeaſonable, and may poſſibly anſwer ſome good purpoſe.

Whether the ſpecific mode of a parliamentary reform, which it may appear reaſonable for public wiſdom to adopt, originate with the people, or their preſent repreſentatives, is not a queſtion merely ſpeculative; upon its juſt ſolution, in my idea, is founded every rational expectation of ſucceſs.

Common ſenſe inſtructs us, and the experience of human life confirms its dictates, that, in ordinary occurrences, the party immediately aggrieved is beſt qualified to ſtate the injuries it ſuffers, and to explain the nature of the required redreſs. It is alſo of conſequence, in the preſent argument, to reflect, that the queſtion, reſpecting a reform of the houſe of commons, is not merely a queſtion of expedience, but of right.

It is the very eſſence of a commons' houſe of parliament, that it faithfully expreſs the voice of the commons. In conſequence of the

the preſent imperfect conſtitution of that houſe, the direct contrary is the fact. It does not expreſs the voice of the commons; and it does expreſs, either jointly or alternately, the voice of the ariſtocracy, and the inclinations of the crown.

The reaſon of ſuch deviation from its primary function, is as obvious as the fact. The commons' houſe of parliament is not elected by the commons. A ſmall portion of the commons, under the moſt evident influence, is its preſent conſtituent; and even this ſmall portion exerciſes its elective franchiſe only once in eight years.

In theſe circumſtances, the mode of redreſs is plain and ſimple. The preſent delegation ceaſing to anſwer its evident intention; the eſſential rights of the third eſtate being ſubtracted; * with the parties immediately concerned and injured, it lies to concert

* It may not be improper, upon this occaſion, alſo to obſerve, that the power aſſumed by the commons' houſe, of impriſoning the ſubject upon pretence of breach of privilege; the denial of the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus to perſons thus impriſoned; the claim of deciding

concert the requiſite meaſures for their reſtitution.

It appears equally clear, that the proper mode of giving efficacy to their wiſhes and reſolutions is, the with-holding of the ſupplies.

If the denial of right to every male inhabitant, not diſqualified by mental imbecility or criminal conduct, be the injury, the reſtoration of the right of univerſal ſuffrage is the remedy. If the deviation from the ancient uſage to the octennial exerciſe of the elective franchiſe be both impolitic and injurious, the recovery of the right of annual elections is the only ſatisfactory redreſs. If the queſtion being fairly propoſed, the commons of Ireland ſhall acquieſce for the preſent in the recovery of leſs than their undoubted right, with reſpect to univerſal ſuffrage, themſelves and their poſterity are the

ing upon the merits of conteſted elections; the arbitrary excluſion of their conſtituents from the place of their aſſembly, are equally unconſtitutional and illegal. They only form a ſmall portion of thoſe uſurpations, which ſo loudly call for the exertion of the viſitatorial authority of the people.

the parties immediately intereſted; and, therefore, the collective body of the commons in this, as well as in the former inſtances, can alone give the proper ſanction to the reform.

I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion, that it is the intereſt, the right, and the duty of the commons, by themſelves, or their delegates, expreſsly appointed for the purpoſe, to ſtate the injury, and to exhibit a ſpecific plan for its redreſs.

The preſent houſe of commons, by the nature of its conſtitution, has not the power and, I am ſatisfied, the majority has not the will.

Provided, however, theſe points are thoroughly underſtood, and are ſufficiently declared; provided alſo a ſpecific plan be formed by the enſuing convention, publiſhed and avowed by the counties, &c. as the rightful demand of the people, and its proper ſanction be acknowledged to conſiſt in their conſent, its paſſage through the preſent houſe may not be liable to any material objection. But this is far from being neceſ-

ſary,

ſary, as I have elſewhere endeavoured to demonſtrate.*

It was the charge of ſir Geo. Savile againſt an engliſh houſe of commons; a charge avowed in its preſence, with that manly ſpirit which has ever diſtinguiſhed his conduct, "that it had betrayed its conſtituents." From what evidences, hitherto afforded to the public, are we authorized to conclude, that their ſucceſſors are actuated by more honourable motives? Can it for a moment be ſuppoſed poſſible, that the preſent houſe of commons, in either kingdom, will ſeriouſly promote the wiſhes of the people? The intereſt, to which the majority of the members owe their election; the influence to which they are ſubject, will ever be apparent in their conduct. Hence, at once, are evident the neceſſity of a reform in the repreſentation of the people, and the propriety of the preſent movements, for the purpoſe of carrying ſuch reform into effect. A delegation, like that appointed to meet upon the tenth of next month, will, I have no doubt, be faithful to its truſt. I am happy in being able to add, that it will read its line of duty, and trace

[* See "Addreſs to freeholders," &c. p. 472—483.]

trace the path of real glory in the firſt, the ſecond, the ninth, and fifteenth reſolution of the Ulſter volunteers.

At the enſuing convention it will alſo, in all probability, be debated, how far it may be expedient to reſtore the rights of citizenſhip to your roman catholic brethren.

The poſition, that a difference of opinion, upon matters merely religious, ought not to be pleaded as a reaſon for the ſubtraction of natural or civil rights, has always appeared to me deciſively juſt. I have long been perſuaded, that the two general practice of confining the enjoyment of civil privileges, within the pale of a particular communion, is equally intolerant and unwiſe; and have conſtantly contended, that every perſon in the community, who preſerves inviolate that common bond of allegiance, which is the evidence of the union of its members, ought to be ſupported in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of his right of riſing to the attainment of every honour and emolument, to which his honeſt induſtry, the favour of his fellow-citizens, or royal inclination can exalt him. The ſixteenth propoſition of the Dungannon reſolves,

reſolves, is a ſufficient evidence of the liberality of your ſentiments upon this ſubject. Your conduct will do you honour in the eyes of all Europe, and may, by the bleſſing of heaven, independently of other advantages, produce the moſt important conſequences to the cauſe of religious liberty and true proteſtantiſm, in every part of Chriſtendom.

Local circumſtances, it has been urged, may, with propriety, be pleaded againſt compliance with a principle and line of conduct, which, without ſuch circumſtances, would be undeniably juſt.

We are too apt to reaſon from the feelings and prejudices of former ages. Let us reaſon rather from facts, which the preſent exhibits to our view. Let us attend to the conſtitutions of the american ſtates, particularly to that of Maryland. In that ſtate, proteſtants and papiſts live together, under the protection of equal laws, in perfect peace. No incapacities or diſqualifications, on account of religion, are obſerved in their code. The exertions of the human intellect are there unfettered by thoſe iniquitous reſtraints, which diſhonour european climes: every

every man, therefore, lives in charity with his neighbour, and the rage of proſelytiſm is unknown.

Are then the hearts of roman catholics in your country ſo obdurate, that they are incapable of being ſoftened by mild and generous treatment? And is it in Ireland alone, that acts of juſtice and philanthropy will fail in producing their cuſtomary effects?

Nor is the meaſure I am partial to ſolely recommended by conſiderations of humanity and common right. It is agreeable alſo to the ſoundeſt policy, which ever dictates to us, that the whole power of a community ſhould, without any undue partiality, be employed in promoting its agriculture, its manufactures, and its commerce, on which immediately depend the true glory and real ſtrength of a country, the happineſs of its citizens, and the ſtability of its government. Many in adminiſtration envy you the enjoyment of your preſent privileges. Theſe will unqueſtionably avail themſelves of any ill humours, which may be conſequent upon a refuſal of the roman catholic

claims; they will foment the riſing differences between you, and eagerly ſeize the opportunities which circumſtances may afford them, of recovering every advantage you have gained. Your kingdom, united within itſelf, will be able to withſtand the utmoſt efforts of its enemies; but if diſunion ſhould take place, you will fall an eaſy prey to the deſpotiſm of men, who upon ſo many occaſions have manifeſted themſelves the declared enemies of the common rights of mankind. The mild and gentle ſpirit of our religion teaches us to enter into the ſorrows of our neighbour, to make his ſufferings our own. How grievous muſt it appear to the feelings of ſo many of your brethren, differenced from you only in their religious perſuaſions, that, however your common country may increaſe in affluence and ſplendor, they are precluded from bearing a part in the general joy! fettered by reſtrictions, only to be vindicated in times of avowed hoſtility, and condemned with their innocent poſterity in a land of freedom to live the life of ſlaves!

The queſtion is brought to this ſhort iſſue: by engaging ſo large a portion of your fellow-citizens

citizens in your cauſe, you will gain a parliament above the power of corruption; your country will be united; your emancipation will be permanent and complete. By denying them a ſhare of thoſe advantages which you claim for yourſelves, you will impair your own title to the bleſſings of liberty, and muſt expect to live, for generations, in little leſs than a ſtate of actual hoſtility with the majority of your countrymen.

The denial of equitable claims is ever full of difficulty and danger: the paths of juſtice and humanity are paths of pleaſantneſs; are paths of peace.

When under the influence of mild and equal laws, human induſtry ſhall be generally excited and encouraged, and that monſter intolerance, the bane of human happineſs, ſhall be baniſhed from the ſtate, is it not reaſonable to conclude, that religious prejudices alſo will give way, and truth extend her ſalutary empire over the minds of men, in proportion as the light of ſcience, the conſtant concomitant of an enlarged intercourſe with our ſpecies, ſhall prevail?

The politicians of the day fail in execut-

ing their bad purpoſes, through falſe conceptions of the human character: our government reaſoned as inconcluſively, as it acted iniquitouſly, in the american controverſy; the event is too well known. Whereas a compliance with the obvious rules of juſtice, by allowing free ſcope to the virtuous energies of the mind, enables us to overcome obſtacles apparently unſurmountable, and leads to happineſs and peace.

It may further be urged, that the roman catholic laity no longer acknowledge that the ſovereign pontiff hath authority to diſpenſe with the ſolemn obligation of an oath. They, I doubt not, would afford you the moſt unequivocal evidences of attachment to your government; and, if generouſly dealt with, would feel themſelves too much intereſted in the general peace and proſperity to wiſh, that the times of diſorder and confuſion may return. Might it not be propoſed, as a condition of your indulgence, that they ſhould aſſent to a ſolemn renunciation of thoſe claims, which may at preſent alarm you? to a declaration that every ſpecies of perſecution for religion is antichriſtian and unlawful?

unlawful? to an oath of allegiance, which would not interfere with the right of conſcience, and yet afford a ſufficient ſecurity to yourſelves? A conference of a few days, perhaps of a few hours, with the leading people of the roman catholic perſuaſion would probably terminate a difference, which has ſubſiſted for generations, and to which, if the maxims of paſt ages be adhered to, human ſagacity can ſee no end; at leaſt, no end that can be contemplated with pleaſure.

I will conclude a letter, which, I fear, has been too long, with a recapitulation of the principal circumſtances of the caſe.

A reform in the conſtitution of your commons' houſe of parliament is indiſpenſably neceſſary to your ſecurity, and to your happineſs. You are diſpoſed to purſue this object with that ſpirit and perſeverance, which can alone, under providence, produce ſucceſs. The moſt effective part of the engliſh government; all the enemies of parliamentary reform in the three kingdoms; the adminiſtration of Ireland; the ariſtocracy of Ireland; the hierarchy in both countries, are moſt aſſuredly adverſe to your claims. During

the progreſs of this buſineſs, a queſtion ariſes whether you ſhould not, from principles of equity and ſound policy, at the ſame time that you eſtabliſh your own liberties, be attentive to the degraded and ſuffering ſituation of your roman catholic brethren? I can only offer the opinion of an individual. Others, equally well-diſpoſed to your cauſe, in abilities far ſuperior, may be perſuaded of the propriety of a different courſe of conduct. It is my decided idea, that the full eſtabliſhment of equal liberty: the conceſſion of the rights of citizenſhip to men of every religious perſuaſion; and an independent parliament; a parliament, which expreſſes the real ſenſe of the people, can alone render you triumphant over the intereſted oppoſition and reſtleſs machinations of the former parties; the latter wait only for a ſingle act of kindneſs to become your friends for ever.*

It

* By the late accounts tranſmitted from Ireland, it appears, that adminiſtration has been active, and, according to their own idea, very ſucceſsful, in their efforts to obſtruct that parliamentary reform, which various circumſtances now evince to be eſſentially neceſſary to the political ſalvation of that country.

Whether

It is with pleaſure I acquaint you, that the friends to a parliamentary reform in this

 country

Whether the violent meaſure, recently adopted by the iriſh parliament, originated with the ſecretary of the home-department, (lord North) or the houſe of Cavendiſh, is a matter of little importance to the public. Both parties act in ſtricteſt concert with each other, and now muſt be conſidered as jointly endeavouring to depreſs that ſpirit of freedom, which the deſpotic principles of the one, and the ariſtocratic prejudices of the other, equally lead them to deteſt. I will, however, venture to predict, that diſappointment and diſgrace will, in the preſent inſtance, attend their counſels. The ill-judged oppoſition of the adminiſtration and parliament of Ireland, to the voice of the collective body of the people, in a cauſe peculiarly their own, will, in all human probability, render the triumph of the friends of freedom more complete, and this, perhaps, at no very diſtant period. The fire of genuine patriotiſm is not thus to be extinguiſhed.

" Preſumptuous man! think'ſt thou yon envious cloud,
Rais'd by thy breath, has quench'd the orb of day?
To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
And warms the nations with redoubled ray."

GRAY.

The loſs of public confidence, an evil more alarming than the loſs of public credit, now ſo juſtly apprehended, renders it more neceſſary than ever for the people to unite; I will add, to aſſociate, in ſupport of the only meaſure, which, under providence, can preſerve the expiring liberties of England. I muſt confeſs, that, with others, I long indulged the fond perſuaſion, that the

country ſeem to receive new courage in conſequence of your exertions; and, agreeably to

the ſpirit and abilities of Mr. Fox would ſtrenuouſly, and at length ſucceſsfully, have been exerted in reſtoring the mutilated conſtitution of his country. During the period of our intercourſe, it was my conſtant effort to impreſs his mind with the perſuaſion, that by employing his ſplendid talents in the ſupport of conſtitutional liberty, and the cauſe of the people, he would attain the utmoſt height of power, to which an honeſt ambition could aſpire, and, at the ſame time, live honoured and revered by every friend to the intereſts of his country and mankind. His exemplary attachment to the cauſe of ſuffering humanity, in the american queſtion, ſtrongly induced me to believe, that his heart was upright, that his profeſſions were ſincere. It was, therefore, with feelings moſt diſtreſſing, that I received the intelligence of his union with a party, hoſtile to America, to Ireland, to the real intereſts of Britain, to the ſacred cauſe of civil and religious liberty, to the human ſpecies. I remonſtrated againſt ſo diſgraceful and portentous a coalition, with all the warmth and earneſtneſs of friendſhip; but, I remonſtrated in vain. When I recalled to my mind his former exertions in the cauſe of freedom; when I recollected with what reſiſtleſs energy he had employed every captivating power of his unrivalled eloquence in her ſupport, the dark tranſaction ſeemed illuſion, the work of fancy, or the operation of that malignant principle, that repreſents as real the defection from virtue, which it wiſhes may be fact. Alas! it was my lot to lament over him, as fallen from the faireſt pinnacle of human glory, while others ſurrounded him with congratulations upon his elevation to the height of power!

The

to your own animating expreſſion, " ſee, in your ſucceſs, the certain harbinger of their own."

I remain, with cordial good wiſhes to yourſelf and your reſpectable committee,

Your obedient ſervant,

JOHN JEBB.

Parliament-ſtreet,
Oct. 25, 1783.

The recollection of that attachment, by which our hearts were once united, might diſpoſe me to rejoice, were ſome future day to exhibit him again awake to the ſacred call of freedom and of public virtue; but confidence hath fled, I fear, never to return.

At preſent, with aſtoniſhment, mingled with the moſt ſenſible regret, I behold him the aſſociate and the advocate of men, in principle and practice moſt deſpotic; the adviſer of meaſures equally impolitic and unjuſt; I will add, unprecedented in the annals of mankind: meaſures, which at once ſhake all the ſecurities of property to their foundation, and create an acceſſion of influence to the miniſter, which threatens to render him triumphant over every ſpecies of conſtitutional control.

Is it poſſible, I would aſk him, once more appealing to the unbiaſſed ſentiments of his heart, that, with an underſtanding ſo exalted, he can prefer the character and fame of Richlieu, the arbitrary miniſter of the thirteenth Lewis, the ſubverter of the remaining liberties of France; to the ſplendid glory, that in every future age will encircle the brow of the immortal Sully, the friend of Henry, the friend of man?

Dec. 6, 1783.

THOUGHTS
ON THE
CONSTRUCTION AND POLITY
OF
PRISONS,
WITH
HINTS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT.

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THOUGHTS ON THE CONSTRUCTION AND POLITY OF PRISONS.

IT is much to be lamented, but it is undeniably true, that whenever buſineſs is permitted to be tranſacted without a controling power and frequent inſpection, the perſons to whom ſuch buſineſs is committed too generally neglect or abuſe their truſt. Places of confinement, on many accounts, are unpleaſing objects: and the miſerable portion of mankind who are conſigned to thoſe dreary manſions too frequently feel, in the tyranny of their keepers, and other ſeverities, the effect of that diſregard of their fellow-citizens which is the general concomitant of excluſion from the buſy ſcenes of life. Whatever, therefore, removes the general reluctance to inſpect theſe doleful abodes of diſtreſs,* may poſſibly tend to diminiſh the horrors of their ſtate.

It

* See Mr. Howard's remarks on the urgent occaſion for appointing an inſpector (honorary and without ſalary)

It is the ſecret, but indelible perſuaſion, that lofty walls and iron doors, and grated windows, encloſe diſeaſe, as well as miſery of other kinds, which prevents the exertions of the compaſſionate from being employed in leſſening the calamities of confinement. Whatever regulations, therefore, ſhall ſubject places of confinement to the ſalutary and cheering influence of the winds and light of heaven, may at once relieve the ſufferers from the languor of ſickneſs, and from the tyranny too often exerciſed by the inexorable miniſters of public juſtice. I mean that kind of tyranny founded upon neglect and the denial of the common neceſſaries of human nature, which the excellent Mr. Howard has ſo ſtrikingly unfolded in his immortal work; a work, at once the ſtrongeſt exhibition of philanthropy ſince the foundation of our religion, and the ſevereſt ſatire on the ſpecies.

As a baſis for my ſubſequent reflections, I propoſe the two following queries, ſuggeſted principally

lary) to every priſon; either delegated from the magiſtracy, in rotation, or otherwiſe, or conſtituted by parliament.—See "State of the priſons in England and Wales, with preliminary obſervations, and an account of ſome foreign priſons and hoſpitals." the 3d edit. p. 36.

principally by obſervations in the line of my profeſſion.

I. Is it not abſolutely neceſſary, in order fully to remove the bad effects of that ſtagnation of air and accumulation of putrid effluvia from living bodies, to which the unhealthy ſtate of our priſons is chiefly to be imputed, that the place of confinement ſhould be ventilated frequently, by currents of freſh air moving freely in an horizontal direction, in ſuch a manner as intirely to change that part of the atmoſphere which is incumbent over the ſurface of habitation?

II. Is it poſſible that this can be effected, be the interior arrangements what they may, while the place of confinement is encloſed within four walls riſing high above the level of the inhabited ſurface?

On the contrary; will not infection, once received, continue, under ſuch circumſtances, to exert its deleterious powers, with various degrees of malignity, for a great length of time; in defiance of every precaution that human ſagacity can ſuggeſt?

The ſituation of priſons, at a diſtance from other buildings, with the conveniences attendant upon an elevated ground, and a running ſtream of water, would certainly be

be preferable to the preſent practice of erecting them in the cloſeſt part of towns. But theſe improvements, I conceive, will be of little avail, without the aid of the following, which I eſteem as a regulation eſſentially neceſſary to the removal of thoſe inconveniences, which are ſo ſeverely felt, in the firſt inſtance, by the unhappy ſufferers under confinement, and, eventually, by the community at large.

It appears to me, that in preference to the method hitherto obſerved for the purpoſe of ſecurity, a dry moat, with ſhelving ſides, covered with graſs, ſhould, like a line of circumvallation, ſurround, at a proper diſtance, the place of confinement. And that a wall (equal, perhaps, in height to thoſe which at preſent ſurround the King's-bench priſon,*) ſhould riſe from the bottom of this moat. The top of this wall ſhould be level with the ſurface of the ſoil. Thus

* Mr. Howard ſays of the King's-bench—" This ſpacious priſon is encloſed with a ſtrong wall about thirty feet high, with chevaux de frize," p. 244.—If walls are in any degree conſiderably elevated above the ſurface, it is neceſſary, ſo far as may be, to obviate this diſadvantage to ventilation in ſome meaſure; as by other means, ſo by the chevaux de frize being five or ſix feet high: a method recommended by Mr. Blackburn of Southwark.

Thus would the ſecurity at preſent aimed at by the high walls, be ſtill enjoyed, without their numerous inconveniences, and an unobſtructed current of air would continually ventilate every ſeparate building.

Theſe buildings ſhould conſiſt only of two ſtories, formed upon arcades, agreeably to Mr. Howard's idea: and contain, I apprehend, not more than ſix or eight apartments. It would be alſo proper that theſe apartments, and their appendages, ſhould vary in ſpaciouſneſs and other circumſtances, as exigency and the public wiſdom ſhall direct.

Security, which, without a doubt, is the eſſential point to be conſulted in places of confinement, may be effected by the ſtrength and peculiar conſtruction of the building; by attention to internal polity; or by the combined aid of both.

It appears to me, that too great a reliance has hitherto been placed upon the conſtruction of priſons; too little upon a well-regulated œconomy: and that the latter is frequently impeded, by the meaſures which are adopted to perfect the former.

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Inſtead of buildings formed of maſſy ſtone, with various mechanical expedients to guard

againſt eſcape, ſecurity may, perhaps, be more eſſentially promoted by detached buildings, leſs coſtly; ſubſtantial, formed of brick; and into whoſe receſſes the eye of vigilance can penetrate with greater eaſe.

Stone ſtair-caſes, ſeparate apartments, and ſuch expedients as may prevent improper communication between the priſoners, without encumbering the ſtructure, are certainly neceſſary. But the main improvement to be expected in the ſtate of priſons, ſeems to me to conſiſt in a judicious mode of conducting their internal polity. Lights properly diſperſed over the whole encloſed diſtrict; a regular patrol by day and night; permiſſion to the priſoners to enjoy the benefit of the air, by rotation, at certain hours; concerted ſignals of alarm, would, in all probability, afford more real ſecurity, with leſs expenſe, and leſs injury to the feelings of humanity, than can be effected in buildings of the preſent conſtruction, wherein the very proviſions adopted to prevent riot, inſurrection, or eſcape, materially obſtruct the free communication and united exertions of the people who are appointed to guard againſt them.

Let

Let us imitate nature. She effects her purpoſes by the ſimpleſt means. *

The preſent great obſtruction to the viſitation of gaols, viz. the apprehenſion of unhealthineſs, and the expectation of the eye and ear being ſaluted, on entrance, with bars, and bolts, and chains; and the gloom inſeparable from lofty walls, and the form and ſolid ſtructure of ſubterraneous manſions, being thus effectually removed, the next proceſs will be, to hint a plan for the regulation of their internal polity, and for ſecuring the obſervance of ſuch rules as expedience ſhall ſuggeſt.

* Mr. Howard ſays of the priſons at Paris, "The diſcipline obſerved is ſo exact, that at the fire in the Conciergerie, the numerous priſoners (as I was informed) were removed without any confuſion, or a ſingle eſcape," p. 168, &c. "None of the priſoners in the courts were in irons. And yet, in ſome of the priſons, there were more criminals than in any of our London gaols. My reader, perhaps, will preſently ſee reaſon to conclude, that the manner in which priſons are conducted, makes the confinement more tolerable, and chains leſs needful. Indeed, it was evident, from the very appearance of the priſoners in ſome of the gaols, that humane attention was paid to them." p. 166. In a like ſenſe, the excellent Beccaria, "Ogni atto di autorità di uomo a uomo che non derivi dal' aſſoluta neceſſita e tirannico." Dei delitti e delle pene.

With reſpect to ſpecific regulations of internal polity, I do not preſume to give a formal opinion: being conſcious that much muſt depend upon experiment, and that my habits of life do not enable me to point out the form that would be moſt expedient. Perhaps the regulations obſerved in garriſons and camps, wherein good order, and a ſtate of conſtant vigilance are ſo very eſſential, may ſuggeſt to the civil power a form of polity, ſteady in its operation, eaſy in its execution, and yet effectual to all the purpoſes of ſecurity. But the utmoſt care ſhould be taken, that the reſtraint of liberty, even in the caſe of the moſt atrocious crimes, ſhould be as mild as the circumſtances will admit: that the eſtabliſhment of the proper rules and orders, and the mode of carrying them into execution, ſhould be intirely under the control of the magiſtrates and gentlemen of the diſtrict; that in no particular, or poſſible circumſtance, they ſhould be liable to the interference of the eſtabliſhed army: and with every proper caution guarded againſt the tyranny or over-bearing influence of any man, or ſet of men, who hold their appointment from the crown. Better, far

better

better, that all the preſent evils and diſorders, however grievous, ſhould continue, than that, under ſpecious pretences, liberty, the choiceſt gift of heaven to man, without which no other bleſſing can convey real enjoyment to the rational mind, ſhould be impaired, perhaps, totally deſtroyed, by the introduction of a french ſyſtem of police, even into our gaols.

The anſwer to the queſtion, Quis cuſtodes cuſtodiet ipſos? is next to be conſidered. In what manner are we to guard againſt the neglect and tyranny of the officers of priſons, and ſecure the obſervance of ſuch rules as expedience ſhall ſuggeſt?

The conduct of the houſes of induſtry, in Suffolk and Norfolk, in one of which I was a director for the ſpace of three years, ſeems to me to point out an uſeful and practicable mode of government and control.

A committee room, ſpacious, commodious, and pleaſantly ſituated, is ſet apart for the weekly meetings of the directors and guardians of the houſe.

They conſiſt of the principal gentry, clergy, and tenantry, in the county. They viſit in rotation; each taking a month. Two directors

directors from the gentry, three acting guardians from the yeomanry, (with the clerk) form the weekly meeting. The governor of the houſe attends to anſwer inquiries and complaints. He brings up his report of the material events of the preceding week. All buſineſs reſpecting the œconomy of the houſe and current expenſes, is then ſettled. The ſtores and proviſions are inſpected; the apothecary, who attends for a yearly ſtipend, is examined with reſpect to the ſick. In this whole affair, no perſon complains of the fatigue of attendance, but rather takes pleaſure in the diſcharge of ſo uſeful an employment.

The juſtices of the county, or diſtrict, aided by the gentry and clergy, and a certain portion of the ſubſtantial tenantry, might be incorporated by parliament, with powers to act in a ſimilar manner in reſpect to gaols. The regulation of places of confinement would then be veſted in the hands of the parties, who are really intereſted in the reform of their manifold abuſes. The humanity of my countrymen would effect the reſt; they would behold in a priſoner, a perſon, who, from the loſs of liberty, from the

the anxieties neceſſarily attendant upon his ſituation, from the injury he has probably ſuſtained in his circumſtances, and muſt continue to ſuſtain, before his guilt or innocence can be legally aſcertained, is already afflicted with a conſiderable ſhare of ſuffering, and, therefore, ought not to be unneceſſarily expoſed to the additional diſtreſſes of hunger, cold, and nakedneſs, and the almoſt moral certainty of diſeaſe.

I will recapitulate; and conclude.

It is my aim, in ſubmitting the preceding reflections to the public, to impreſs my readers with a perſuaſion, that if due attention were paid to the ſcite and conſtruction of priſons, the grand obſtacle to their improvement, viz. the infrequency of their inſpection, would no longer exiſt; that the health of the perſons confined cannot be conſulted in any tolerable meaſure, while priſons are ſituated in the midſt of populous cities, or ſurrounded with walls, riſing high above the inhabited encloſure. That the expedients which have been acquieſced in as eſſential to the guarding againſt riot, inſurrection, and eſcape, are not only inefficacious, but frequently are productive of the

the very evils they were intended to prevent; that a judicious form of internal polity might ſafely be ſubſtituted in their place; and that the power of enforcing ſuch regulations, as public wiſdom may direct, ought to be veſted in the hands of ſuch perſons, as are moſt intereſted in the peace and good order of the diſtrict; viz. in a weekly committee of the juſtices, gentry, and tenantry of the county, attending upon the ſpot in monthly rotation. Thus the preſent reproach of the diſorder and immorality of perſons under confinement, would, I conceive, be finally removed, and, at the ſame time, the feelings of humanity, at preſent wounded by every reflection upon the complicated ſufferings endured in theſe melancholy manſions, be effectually conſulted, without offering the minuteſt injury to ſubſtantial juſtice.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.